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ABSTRACT

This collection contains three papers on the Cotabato Manobo language and culture and one on a variety of cultures. "Cotabato Manobo Grammar" by Harland Kerr is an extensive description of the grammar focusing on syntactic relationships within it. "Cotabato Manobo Ethnography" by Harland Kerr is a 1957 ethnographic study based on observations during a year of residence with this Philippine people. In "The Magic of the Cotabato Manobos" by Ross Errington, the practice, functions, and perceptions of magic among the Manobos is examined, and the need for functional substitutes as the culture changes, particularly with the growth of Christianity, is noted. "Ethnic Stereotypes: Their Role in Parent-Child Communication" by Renato Y. Pablo and R. C. Gardner reports a study of how parents and their children use stereotypical information about different ethnic groups, whether parent-child communication of stereotypes improves with age, and whether the communication process is influenced by factors such as ethnic group label and amount of stereotypical information. (MSE)

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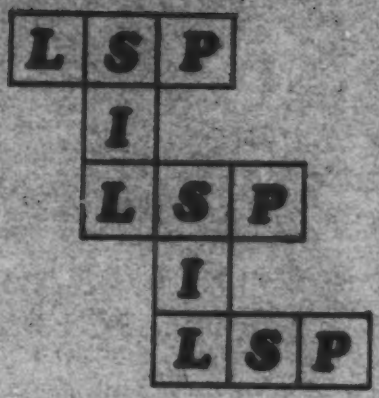


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# Studies in Philippine Linguistics

VOLUME 7 1988 NUMBER 1

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Studies in Philippine Linguistics is a joint venture undertaken by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics devoted to the timely publication of papers of an empirical or theoretical nature which contribute to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. A certain proportion of the papers published will be penultimate versions of works of special interest to the Philippine linguistic community destined for further publication in more final form elsewhere.

Linguists engaged in the study and description of Philippine languages are hereby invited to submit contributions for inclusion in this series.

The editors wish to express appreciation to Ken Zook for his work in developing the programs used in the computer-assisted editing of this volume.

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# STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

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# COTABATO MANOBO GRAMMAR[1]

Harland Kerr
Summer Institute of Linguistics

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

| | |
|---|---|
| ADJ | adjective |
| CA | causative |
| DEM | demonstrative |
| DET | determiner |
| DIST | distributive |
| DRV | derivative |
| FA | future, actor focus, basic |
| FAREP | future, actor focus, repetitive |
| FO | future, object focus, basic |
| FOREP | future, object focus, repetitive |
| FR | future, referent focus, basic |
| IFA | involuntary, future, actor focus |
| IFI | involuntary, future, instrument focus |
| IFO | involuntary, future, object focus |
| IFR | involuntary, future, referent focus |
| IMP | imperative |
| INA | involuntary, neutral, actor focus |
| INI | involuntary, neutral, instrument focus |
| INO | involuntary, neutral, object focus |
| INR | involuntary, neutral, referent focus |
| IPA | involuntary, past, actor focus |
| IPI | involuntary, past, instrument focus |
| IPO | involuntary, past, object focus |
| IPR | involuntary, past, referent focus |
| LIG | ligature |
| LOC | locative particle |
| NA | neutral, actor focus, basic |
| NEG | negative |
| NI | neutral, instrument focus, basic |
| NO | neutral, object focus, basic |
| NOREP | neutral, object focus, repetitive |
| NR | neutral, referent focus, basic |
| NREC | neutral, reciprocal |
| NRREP | neutral, referent focus, repetitive |
| OF | object focus (suffix) |
| PA | past, actor focus, basic |
| PI | past, instrument focus, basic |
| PO | past, object focus, basic |
| POREP | past, object focus, repetitive |
| PR | past, referent focus, basic |
| PREC | past, reciprocal |
| PRT | particle |
| RC | reciprocal affix |
| RF | referent focus (suffix) |
| RP | reason particle |
| SRC | search for |
| - | morpheme break |
| * | impermissible construction |
| ** | subject is zero third person singular |
| ___ | discontinuous morpheme (in gloss lines only) |

## 0. Introduction

In presenting the grammar of Cotabato Manobo, priority is given to the statement of syntactic relationships. This approach is more or less inevitable in a language with so little inflection of verb or noun expressions. It is adopted in part as a reflection of the theory that meaningful utterances (other than those which are syntactically single units) comprise minimum syntactic units, immediate constituents, which enter into binary relationships with other immediate constituents to form constitutes. (A constitute is a combination of two immediate constituents.) An expanded utterance is compounded of layers of immediate constituents added unit by unit each to the most lateral of the central constituents which it presupposes. It is assumed that the relationship uniting the immediate constituents of any given constitute is a primary feature of language. Such relationships are defined as functions. The immediate constituents so united are defined as functives.

This theory has received its greatest impetus from the writings of Hjelmslev, more particularly his Prolegomena to a Theory of Language (1953). He distinguishes three principal relations: a subordinating relation in which a lateral immediate constituent is dependently related to a central immediate constituent which it presupposes; a coordinating relation in which two immediate constituents of equal status are independently related to each other; and a predicating relation in which two immediate constituents of equal status are interdependently related, each presupposing the other. (See also Pittman 1954.)

The various relations postulated by Hjelmslev are indicated formally as:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| dependence | ---> | (going from the lateral to the central item) |
| independence | <--- | ---> |
| interdependence | ---> | <--- |

Of these relations that of predication is the most basic, establishing a constitute that is the building block for further expansion either by subordination or coordination. In most utterances the primary division must be made between two most central immediate constituents interdependently related to each other. One of these is the subject, the other the predicate. There is reason to believe that the opposition of subject and predicate is a universal of language.

> It is well to remember that speech consists of a series of propositions. There must be something to talk about and something must be said about this subject of discourse once it is selected. This distinction is of such fundamental importance that the vast majority of languages have emphasized it by creating some sort of formal barrier between the two terms of the proposition. [Sapir 1921:119]

Utterances which are no more than a single formal syntactic unit may be subject to the same system of analysis. They do not invalidate the theory that a meaningful utterance is ultimately based on a relationship of interdependence. Even a minimum utterance must by intonation or some other

feature indicate its relationship to something already said or to be said. Unless it is so related it can have no meaning. Such an utterance may contract interdependent, but more probably it contracts dependent relationship with the other utterance. The formal unit and its intonation contour may, however, comprise a self-contained constitute, for example, exclamations and commands.

The word and the units within the word have meaning only as they function in the context of the various relations operating within the utterance. Priority is therefore given to the analysis of the syntactic relations, and the morphology of the words is dealt with within this analysis.

In terms of relations there are two main groups of words: words which must have meaning and are members of a major distribution class (part of speech), and words which may or may not have meaning but indicate the relationships of words of the other group. The first group contracts function; the second group carries the function. Function may be indicated, however, by position only. Overt forms that indicate function will be referred to as valence-carrying morphs if they have no meaning. Those with meaning will be referred to as valence-carrying morphemes. A morph or morpheme may, however, be part of the word, belonging to a major distribution list.

Bloomfield's analysis of Ilocano (1942) is one of the earliest analyses of a Philippine dialect, and it is a basic reference. I have used his terminology in this analysis since it seems to be as valid for Cotabato Manobo as for Ilocano. For Ilocano, Bloomfield postulated a primary syntactic division according to function in open expressions and object expressions. Words are divided into three main classes: pronouns, which are always object expressions; full words, which by themselves are open but can be objectified by certain proclitic particles; and particles (which are open and can never be objectified).

Bloomfield's recognition of open and object expressions is particularly valuable. It parallels the division of English expressions into verbs and substantives respectively. Open expressions in Cotabato Manobo may also be words that function as descriptive lateral items, corresponding to English adjectives and adverbs.

In Cotabato Manobo there need be no subdivision of types of open expressions, more so since expressions which function as simple descriptives of nouns do not function as simple descriptives of verbs (adverbs) but rather become the nuclear verb of an utterance in which a nondescriptive open expression (true verb in English) is a lateral item. But since there are expressions that function as noun descriptives of object expressions, and since there are also expressions that function as descriptives of open expressions (time and location indicators), descriptive class words will be recognised within open expressions in my analysis.

An open expression, word or phrase, may be objectified by objectifying particles. The objectifying expressions in Cotabato Manobo are referred to as particles, though only one unit of the expression is strictly a particle. This unit, si, elides with the following unit, which may by itself be an object expression, or may function with si as an object expression. si by itself may never be objectified.

Pike's (1958) "slot" concept is employed, referring to "same function." Words or groups of words are said to fill meaningful function slots in the sentence.

The various constitutes, as well as variations of each constitute and other features of the language, will be introduced as far as possible according to the principle laid down by Pittman (1954). The most basic and presupposed constitutes will be dealt with first, leading on to the least presupposed constructions in the language.

## 1. Sentence-forming verbal constructions

There are two basic sentence-forming patterns in Cotabato Manobo. In the first, referred to as verbal constructions, one of the nuclear immediate constituents (ICs) is an open expression (verb). In the second, referred to as equational constructions (sec. 2), neither of the two central immediate constituents is an open expression; both are objectified expressions, i.e., substantives.

Verbal constructions include two major types: active verbal constructions (sec. 1.1) and stative verbal constructions (sec. 1.2). They are differentiated by the affixes associated with the nuclear open expression. Other types, less important, are described in sections 1.3-8.

### 1.1 Active verbal constructions

When active verbal constructions are reduced to their most basic elements, two nuclear immediate constituents are identifiable. One is an objectified expression, referred to as the subject. The other is an open expression, referred to as the active verb. These two constituents enter into an interdependent sentence-forming relationship.

There is, however, a strong pressure to add a lateral item to this central constitute. The members substituting in this lateral slot are always particles such as dé, pelà, etc.

mipanaw a[2] dé 'I will go/I'll move off.'
lumikù a dé 'I'll be going home now.'
kumaen ki pelà 'We'll eat now/Let's eat.'

Subclasses of active verbal constructions may be distinguished on the basis of the affixes associated with the open expression. They are designated as actor-subject constructions, non-actor-subject constructions, -en goal-subject constructions, -an constructions, and constructions with i-.

#### 1.1.1 Actor-subject constructions (<-um> constructions)

The actor-subject affixes are:

-um- 'future/desire/mild imperative (with first-person plural)', infixed before the first vowel of the root
eg- 'present continuous'[3]
mig- 'definite past'

Examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| l=um=ikù a dé<br>go.home=FA=___ I PRT | 'I am going home.' |
| eg=ipanawpanaw a<br>NA=walk.about I | 'I am just walking about.' |
| m=ael a owong<br>FA=make I canoe | 'I am making a canoe.' |
| agulé, d=um=ineg sa kelupenit<br>then hear=FA=___ DET small.bat | 'Then the small bat listened.' |
| agulé, eg=likù dé kelupenit<br>then NA=go.home PRT small.bat | 'Then the small bat went home.' |
| t=um=enà ma dé sunggud sa<br>lay.down=FA=___ also PRT bride.price DET<br>emà i Dulangan<br>father DET Dulangan | 'The father of Dulangan laid down the bride price.' |
| agulé t=um=udug dé sa hadi<br>then sleep=FA=___ PRT DET young.sibling | 'Then the young brother slept.' |
| l=um=agbet da pana=en da ubal<br>look.for=FA=___ they shoot=FO they monkeys | 'They looked for monkeys to shoot.' |
| d=um=agpak dé sa busaw<br>arrive=FA=___ PRT DET evil.spirit | 'The evil spirit arrived.' |
| endà dé g=um=emow ké dini<br>not PRT come.up=FA=___ we here | 'We will not come up here (into this house).' |
| k=um=uwa a tamuk, lima<br>get=FA=___ I trade.items five | 'I will get five trade items.' |
| amuk endà si emà eg=haa kenaken<br>if not DET father NA=see me | 'If father had not seen me (I would have died).' |

Many of these examples are intransitive. This seems to be typical of the actor-subject construction, which does not require an object, in contrast with the non-actor-subject construction. The subject in all cases is the actor.

### 1.1.2 Non-actor-subject constructions

The non-actor-subject affixes are:

In <-en> Constructions

| | |
|---|---|
| -en | 'future/desire' |
| eg- -en | 'present continuous' |
| -in- | 'definite past', infixed before first vowel of the root |

In <-an> Constructions

| | |
|---|---|
| -an | 'future/desire' |
| eg- -en | 'present continuous' |
| -in- -an | 'definite past' |

In <i-> Constructions

| | |
|---|---|
| i- | 'present/future' |
| ig- | 'definite past' |

The difference between the members within each of the three preceding sets seems to be more one of aspect than time. The last member of each set clearly indicates a completed action. The other members, while they may be used of an action occurring in the past, refer to a continuing action, contemporaneous with other actions in the same context. The completive affixes, however, are used only of actions that have already occurred; they never refer to a future complete action.

The affixes -an and -en may occur with or without eg-. As far as can be determined, the omission of the prefix does not alter the construction, though there are indications that eg- may not occur in certain constructions with -an.

These sets of affixes are referred to as active verbal affixes, but their usage with stative constructions is not excluded.

The construction may be transitive with a second substantive referred to as the object (in line with the terminology of previous investigators of Philippine dialects). This substantive always follows the verb expression. If it is a noun, the objectifying <an> particle is optional. If it is a pronoun, it belongs to pronoun series 4.

Should both subject and object be nouns and both follow the verb, the object must precede the subject. Both subject and object may be pronouns.

Example:

| | |
|---|---|
| humaa a keniko | 'I want to watch you |
| look I you | (ride bareback).' |

Few examples have been recorded in which the subject is a noun or person and the object a series 4 pronoun. Where these two items are present in the same clause or sentence, the construction is usually equational. The following is not permitted:[4]

| | |
|---|---|
| *mighaa kenagdi si Milug | 'Milug saw him.' |
| see him DET Milug | |

The concept may, however, be expressed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| si Milug mighaa ya kenagdi | 'Milug is the one who |
| DET Milug see DET him | saw him.' |

Objectifying Particles (<sa> Particles)

With few exceptions an objectifying particle, usually class <sa>, must mark a subject following the verb if the subject is a noun or person. In pre-verb position the objectifier is usually omitted, probably because this position is reserved for subject substantives.

If the subject is a pronoun, it belongs to abbreviated series 1. Members of this class are clitic to the verb and follow it immediately, taking precedence over any other class of verb postclitic.

1. si, personal marker, precedes personal names and occasionally series 3 pronouns.

2. si iya > siya > aya > sa 'the'. These last three forms seem to be derived from the full form si iya; sa is used most commonly and seems to have no distance connotation.

3. si ini > sini 'this' indicates something very close to the speaker.

4. si edò > sidò 'that' indicates something at a distance from the speaker or actor.

5. sak 'that thing'. The exact function of this particle is not known. It is occasionally used with one of the other particles as its head word, for example, sak siya 'that thing', or at times it substitutes for the usual objectifiers.

<dé> Particles

A member of the postclitic class dé usually follows the verb and the series 1 pronoun. The combination of the verb and both or one of these postclitics is referred to as a verb expression. Class <dé> particles are

dé, pa, and pelà (sometimes expanded to pelawà). These items are mutually exclusive in their distribution.

No particular meaning can be assigned to the various members of this class. Their principal function seems to be the closing off of the verb expression. They may convey a more specific time factor than that conveyed by the verbal affixes, but only a much more thorough knowledge of the language can clear up this point.

Members of this particle class occur much more frequently in actor-subject constructions than they do in non-actor-subject active constructions and stative constructions.

Pronouns

The monosyllabic series 1 pronouns (as well as series 2 pronouns) never stand alone but always follow an open expression or substantive. They are essentially clitics, though they take primary stress in the sentence (see "Intonation" in the Appendix), and so they are written as separate words.

SERIES 1 ABBREVIATED PRONOUNS <a>

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st person | a | ké (excl); ki (incl) |
| 2nd person | ka | yu |
| 3rd person | Ø (positive) | da |
| | di (negative) | |

SERIES 4 PRONOUNS <kenaken>

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st person | kenaken | kenami (excl); kenita (incl) |
| 2nd person | keniko | keniyu |
| 3rd person | kenagdi | kenagda |

1.1.3 Goal-subject constructions (<-en> constructions)

hau=wen di sa utan
see=FO she DET utan
'She saw the utan (plant).'

agulé d=in=alem i Kenogon sa biahan sa tugbung
then put=PO=___ DET maiden DET basket DET shoot
'Then the young girl put the shoot in the basket.'

agulé pana=en di sa ubal
then shoot=FO he DET monkey
'Then he shot the monkey.'

| | |
|---|---|
| bangun=en sa kakay sa hadi di<br>raise.up=FO DET old.bro DET young.bro his | 'The elder brother raised his younger brother up.' |
| siya wé tigtu etaw, s=in=awa di<br>that DEM honest person marry=PO=___ he<br><br>siya wé me=pion etaw<br>that DEM ADJ=good person | 'The honest person, he married the good one.' |
| dineg=en di sa kagi babuy<br>hear=FO he DET voice pig | 'He heard the sound of the pig.' |
| k=in=uwa di ma sa belagen<br>get=PO=___ he also DET rattan | 'He also got the rattan.' |

In the foregoing examples, as with most goal-subject constructions, there are two principal substantives. The principal nuclear substantive, with which the verb enters into the primary interdependent sentence-forming relationship, is identified as the subject. The secondary substantive is referred to, in line with Bloomfield's terminology, as the agent. If the agent is a pronoun, it must be a member of the series 2 <ku> class. This series and series 1 prounouns are mutually exclusive in their distribution and substitute in the same slot immediately following the verb.

SERIES 2 PRONOUNS <ku>

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st person | ku | ké (excl); ta (incl) |
| 2nd person | ko | yu |
| 3rd person | di | da |

First-person exclusive and second- and third-person plural pronouns are the same in series 1 and 2.

If the subject and agent are both nouns or persons, the agent immediately follows the verb expression. A person agent further indicates its function by the preposed particle.

A <sa> objectifying particle is optional with agent nouns.

If both subject and agent are pronouns, the subject pronoun is a series 3 form (of the series 3 <aken> pronouns). Example:

| | |
|---|---|
| endà eg=hau=wen ku duu kagdi<br>not NO=see=OF I NP him | 'I cannot see him.' |

SERIES 3 PRONOUNS <aken>

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st person | aken | kami (excl); kita (incl) |
| 2nd person | kuna | kiyu |
| 3rd person | kagdi | kagda |

If the agent is other than a pronoun, the subject pronoun reduces to the abbreviated series 1 <a> form, taking a position immediately following the verb. The agent noun or person follows with or without a <sa> objectifying particle.

| | |
|---|---|
| in=uwit a mangan etaw<br>PO=bring I spirit | 'I have been brought (here) by an evil spirit.' |
| eg=hemued=en ké kilat, ka<br>NO=bite=OF we lightning as<br><br>duma ta<br>relatives our | 'We would be struck by lightning (for such an act) since they are our relatives.' |
| egke=laep ké sa emà i Sida<br>INO=disturb we DET father DET Sida<br><br>eg=duyuy<br>NA=sing | 'We were disturbed by Sida's Father's singing.' |

Nouns and pronouns, subjects and agents, behave the same in all future constructions.

1.1.3.1 Actor-subject constructions

The two substantives in an actor-subject construction have been defined as the actor and object respectively in line with Bloomfield's terminology. In goal-subject constructions the two substantives have been referred to as agent and goal respectively. Many roots may enter into both constructions, the difference being structural rather than semantic. The one construction seems to be the reverse phase of the other, the actor of the former corresponding to the agent of the latter and the object of the former corresponding to the goal of the latter.

| | |
|---|---|
| t=um=ulù a keniko<br>teach=FA=___ I you | 'I (actor) will teach you (object).' |
| eg=tulu=en ku kuna<br>NO=teach=OF I you | 'I (agent) will teach you (goal).' |

There are numerous roots which enter readily into goal-subject constructions but are never or only very rarely found in transitive actor-subject constructions. These roots in actor-subject constructions are primarily intransitive.

It would seem to follow from this that actor-subject constructions are primarily concerned with establishing an active relationship between an actor and the action. If the action carries over to an object this is only of secondary significance. Should the object be an integral part of the concept, the goal-subject construction is preferably used. This is clearly illustrated by the following extract from the story "The First Man":

| | |
|---|---|
| agulé h=um=aa sa kakay; hau=wen[5] di<br>then see=FA=___ DET old.bro see=FO he<br><br>sa ubal<br>DET monkey | 'Then the older brother looked around. 'He saw a monkey.' |
| agulé pana=en di sa ubal; agulé<br>then shoot=FO he DET monkey then<br><br>netebà me=nabù dé sa ubal<br>stone.dead IFO=fall PRT DET monkey | 'Then he shot the monkey. It fell stone dead.' |
| agulé m=anà[6] ma sa hadi; pana=en<br>then FO=shoot again DET young.bro shot=FO<br><br>di sak kusapeng<br>he DET female.monkey | 'Then the young brother shot with his bow. He shot a female monkey.' |

The following are examples of expanded actor-subject constructions. Not all roots are intransitive in such constructions; there are numerous examples of transitive actor-subject constructions. A few might be termed bitransitive actor-subject constructions. The roots hated and sugù and a few others have been found in bitransitive sentences. (kayu must precede kenita in such constructions.)

| | |
|---|---|
| h=um=ated a saging Kaut ta<br>take=FA=___ I bananas Kaut DET | 'I will take some bananas to Kaut.' |
| eg=sugù a kayu keniko<br>NA=order I wood you | 'I will send you to get wood.' |

saging and kayu may be regarded as objects. Keniko and Kaut may be classed as third parties.

1.1.3.2 Expanded goal-subject constructions

The following are examples of expanded goal-subject constructions:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| p=in=enù | ku wayeg sa latà | 'I filled the tin |
| fill=PO=___ | I water DET tin | with water.' |
| eg=hagtay=en | ku museng sa emal | 'I keep the loris |
| NO=live=OF | I charcoal DET loris | alive with charcoal.' |
| si Deké | b=in=albal di timbak | 'Deké was struck by |
| DET Deké | strike=PO=___ he rifle | him with a rifle.' |

The second substantive in these sentences seems to be an additional or supplementary agent.

It is usually not possible to express the foregoing concepts in actor-subject form. With at least one of the roots, hagtay, and probably all others, the second substantive presupposes the pronoun agent and cannot occur without it. The following sentence, for example, is impermissible:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *eghagtayan | museng sa emal | 'The loris is kept |
| live | charcoal loris | alive with charcoal.' |

The extra substantive in these constructions will be referred to as a supplementary agent.

1.1.4 -an constructions

The suffix {-an} comprises three allomorphs: -an, -én, and -on. -én and -on are suffixed to roots in which the vowel of the final syllable is é and o respectively. -an occurs elsewhere.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| si Fled | eg=tulon=on i Megumpis | 'Fred was informed |
| DET Fred | NR=inform=RF DET Megumpis | (of the thing) by |
| | | Megumpis.' |

In -an constructions a distinction must be made between roots that combine with the goal-subject affixes <-en> and those that do not. Within the latter group a further distinction must be made between roots that combine with the affix set <i-> and those that do not (see Kerr 1965).

The central sentence structure of each of the above subgroups parallels goal-subject. There is a subject and there is an agent taking the same positions and marked by the same objectifying particles as the equivalent substantives of the goal-subject constructions. In general, however, the semantic relationship between the subject and verb is not the same.

Group 1 roots, which combine with -en

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=dalem=an ku palay sa latà<br>NR=put=RF I rice DET can | 'I'll put the rice in the can.' |
| d=in=alem=an di babuy sa apuy<br>put=PR=___=RF he pig DET fire | 'He placed the pig in the fire.' |
| **endà pa in=inem=an ko duu<br>not yet PR=drink=RF you NEG | 'You have not yet drunk from it.' |

With the majority of group 1 roots the subject is unambiguously location. A goal is usually explicit or implied. There are three central substantives: a third party (a location or sometimes a person), a goal, and an agent. Such constructions may be regarded as third-party constructions, the subject filling the role of the third party.

With some roots, however, location may be indicated by the affix -an, but no goal need be implied.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=kagbul=en di sa walingwaling<br>NO=climb=OF he DET orchid | 'He climbs for the orchid.' |

In the preceding example the goal is the object, or the motive, for his climbing. In the following example there is no motive for climbing; no goal is implied. Such constructions are simple two-party location-subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=kagbul=an di aken, sa miyong<br>NR=climb=RF he me DET cat | 'The cat, he climbs up onto me.' |

With other roots the subject item seems to be more a goal than location, for example:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=temeg=en ku sa kayu<br>NO=burn=OF I DET wood | 'I'll burn the wood.' |
| eg=temeg=an ku sa apuy<br>NR=light=RF I DET fire | 'I'll light the fire.' |

In this second example fire is the subject, but it scarcely seems to indicate location. Nor can it be said to be a goal in view of the preceding sentence, unless it is assumed that the meaning of the root is altered by the affix -an.

The root daig 'to burn' seems to pattern the same way:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=daig=en ku si Bunged<br>NO=burn=OF I DET Bunged | 'I'll burn Bunged (with a coal).' |

eg=daig=en di sa kuden tanà magtu pelà 'She'll bake the
NO=burn=OF she DET pot earth new still newly made earthen-
ware pot.'

b=in=ael=an
make=PR=___=RF

Again the subject of the second sentence can scarcely be a location, nor can it be a goal, unless the meaning of the root is altered by the addition of -an.

The root temeg may, however, be used in an unambiguously third-party location-subject construction:

eg=temeg=an ku apuy sa pesu tued, ani 'I'll set a fire in
NR=burn=RF I fire DET base stump so.that the stump to kill it.'

egke=matay
INO=die

Group 2 roots, which do not combine with <-en> or <i->

With group 2 roots, <-an> substitutes for <-en> indicating a simple goal-subject in a two-party construction. The subject is usually a person.

angat=an ku pa kuna 'I'll wait for you.
wait=FR I still you

eg=bulig=an da aken 'They are helping me.'
NR=angry=RF they me

b=in=ulit=an ku kagda 'I was angry with
angry=PR=___=RF I them them.'

si Papi, eg=unung=unung=an di kuna 'Puppy is watching
DET Puppy NR=watch=watch=RF he you you intently.'

eg=telaki=yan ku kagda 'I'll tell them a
NR=folk.tale=RF I them folktale.'

eg=lenawen=an da kita 'They speak Moro to
NR=Moro=RF they us us.'

An inanimate subject is indicated with the root bael 'to make/build':

eg=bael=an ké sa dalesan 'We are building a
NR=make=RF we DET house house.'

This same root with -an, unlike the other roots, may indicate an instrument-subject (see sec. 1.1.5.3).

kopoh, ngingi b=in=ael=an di dalesan 'The spider, it
spider saliva build=PR=___=RF it house builds a house with
saliva.'

A group of roots indicating direct address enter into similar goal-subject constructions with <-an> though some of them also combine with <-en> to indicate another form of goal-subject. With -an the subject is a person, the addressee. The tendency of <-an> to indicate location is indicated in the associated question or command.

eg=igsa=an ku sa etaw; miling si Kaldon 'I ask a person, like
NR=ask=RF I DET person like DET Kardon Kardon, if he is going
anywhere.'

eg=igsa=an ku amuk duen eg=angay=an
NR=ask=RF I if there.is NR=go=RF

di in=ikagi=yan ku sa etaw, kedu=wan ko 'I asked the man,
he PR=ask=RF I DET person from=FR you "Where have you come
from?"'

ya eg=sugu=an ku sidò etaw anì 'I tell the person to
PRT NR=order=RF I that person so.that come here.'

eg=angay dini
NA=go here

## Group 3 Roots, Which Combine with <i-> But Not with <-en>

A subdivision must be made within group 3 roots according to the function of the affix set <i-> with the particular root.

To the first subdivision belong the roots hated, tugkes, begay, and others. When these roots enter into combination with <i->, the subject is the goal of the sentence. <i-> evidently substitutes for the affix set <-en>, with which these roots do not combine.

duen ma ig=begay ku si Atudan, 'The thing I gave
there.is also PI=give I DET Atudan Atudan was a T-shirt.'

kamasita
T-shirt

sini saging i=hated ku si Kaut 'I'll take these
these banana NI=take I DET Kaut bananas to Kaut.'

| | |
|---|---|
| i=tagkes ku sa kudà | 'I'll tether the |
| NI=tether I DET horse | horse.' |

These and similar roots with <i-> indicate a third-party goal-subject construction in which a definite third party is implied even though it may not be explicitly indicated. The subject is a nonperson.

When these roots combine with -an, the third party becomes the subject (a location or recipient, etc.).

| | |
|---|---|
| begay=an ku si Atudan sempek | 'I'll give Atudan a |
| give=FR I DET Atudan shorts | pair of shorts.' |
| | |
| eg=hated=an ku saging si Kaut | 'I'll take the |
| NR=take=RF I banana DET Kaut | bananas to Kaut.' |
| | |
| sidò tued eg=tagkes=an ku kudà | 'I'll tie the horse |
| that stump NR=tie=RF I horse | to that stump.' |

It should be noted, however, that tagkes may enter into a totally different -an construction:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=tagkes=an ku sa palay | 'I bind the rice.' |
| NR=tie=RF I DET rice | |

The exact translation is not certain but concerns the binding of rice at harvest. The affix -an substitutes for the affix set <-en> to produce a simple goal-subject construction implying no third party.

To the second subdivision of group 3 roots belongs the root bayad 'to pay for goods'. This root does not enter into simple goal-subject constructions with the affix <i->. With -an it commonly enters into third-party goal-subject constructions in which the recipient of the payment may or may not be indicated.

| | |
|---|---|
| bayad=an ku sa utang ku diyà keniko | 'I'll pay up my debt |
| pay=FR I DET debt my to you | to you.' |
| | |
| eg=bayad=an ku sa manuk diyà si Mundi | 'I'll pay Mundi for |
| NR=pay=RF I DET chick to DET Mundi | his chick.' |
| | |
| eg=bayad=an ku kuna | 'I'll pay you.' |
| NR=pay=RF I you | |

1.1.4.1 Benefaction

Most roots, irrespective of the particular group to which they belong, enter into beneficiary-subject -an constructions. In these the agent performs an action for the benefit of another party, usually a person, sometimes an animal.

eg=tueges=an ku kuna uton
NR=catch=RF I you fish
'I'll catch fish for you.'

eg=tudak=an da kami katilà
NR=plant=RF they us swt.potato
'They'll plant the sweet potato for us.'

kuwa=an ku tamuk emà ku diyà
get=FR I item father my from
'I'll get trade items for my father from you.'

keniko
you

eg=edup=an di kuna wayeg
NR=heat=RF he you water
'He'll heat the water for you.'

eg=sulu=an ku kuna
NR=light=RF I you
'I'll light the way for you.'

eg=lagbet=an ku me=pion kaenen di sa
NR=look=RF I ADJ=good food his
'I am looking for good food for the horse.'

kudà
horse

With some roots a beneficiary may not occur except as the subject of an -an construction.

eg=tudak=an ku kuna katilà diyà sa
NR=plant=RF I you swt.potato in DET
'I'll plant sweet potato for you in my patch.'

pelusak ku
patch my

eg=tudak=an ku diyà keniko sa pelusak
NR=plant=RF I for you DET patch
'I'll plant the sweet potato patch for you.'

| | |
|---|---|
| t=um=udak a katilà diyà keniko<br>plant=FA=___ I swt.potato to you | 'I'll plant sweet potato for you.'<br>(I'll plant sweet potato on your land.) |

The language assistant clearly distinguished betwen the three preceding sentences. In the first the sweet potato will be planted by ego on his own land and then given to the second party. (Ego owns the land and the sweet potato.) This is true benefaction. In the last two sentences the sweet potato will be planted by ego on the land of the second party. (Ego merely works for the second party.)

The same distinction is made with the root tayagpes:

| | |
|---|---|
| Eg=tayagpes=an ku kuna pelusak. Amuk<br>NR=clear=RF I you patch when<br><br>me=ubus a eg=tayagpes i=begay ku dé<br>IFO=finish I NA=clear NI=give I PRT<br><br>diyà keniko.<br>to you | 'I will clear the land for a sweet potato patch. When I have finished I will give it to you.' |

Example of benefaction:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=angat=an ku pelà kuna posot<br>NR=wait=RF I still you betel.nut | 'I'll wait and get the betel nut for you.' |

Example of nonbenefaction:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=angat=angat a posot diyà keniko<br>NA=wait=wait I betel.nut for you | 'I'll wait for you to come back with the betel nut.' |

1.1.4.2 -an conditioned by a question

An -an construction is also used, not so much to indicate location, recipient, or benefaction, but rather as a reply to the question keduwan ini. This phrase is often used without any reference to location though most commonly it is used as a location question 'Where did such and such or so and so come from?' Sometimes it is better translated as 'How did you come by such and such?'

| | |
|---|---|
| Question: keduwan ini uton<br>from this fish | 'Where did these fish come from?'<br>(How did you come by these fish?) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Reply: sini uton t=in=ueges=an i Umpit<br>this fish catch=PR=___=RF DET Umpit | 'These fish were caught by Umpit.' |

Here -an does not seem to fit the usual usage and must be conditioned by the -an of keduwan.

1.1.4.3 Actor-subject and -an constructions

Most -an constructions can be recast in actor-subject form without any marked change in the meaning of the sentence.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=tudak=an ku katilà sa pelusak ku<br>NR=plant=RF I swt.potato DET patch my | 'I'll plant sweet potato in my patch.' |
| aken, t=um=udak a pelusak ku<br>I plant=FA=___ I patch my | 'As for me, I'll plant (sweet potato) in my patch.' |
| b=in=egay=an ku sempek si Atudan<br>give=PR=___=RF I shorts DET Atudan | 'I gave Atudan a pair of shorts.' |
| m=egay a kawal si Atudan<br>FA=give I shirt DET Atudan | 'I will give Atudan a shirt.' |
| eg=sukay=an ku kulta si Gebug<br>NR=pay=RF I money DET Gebug | 'I'll pay Gebug money (if he works for me).' |
| s=um=ukay a kulta si Gebug<br>pay=FA=___ I money DET Gebug | 'I will pay Gebug money.' |

The subject of an -an construction (when it is a location or third-party person) if displaced to a nonsubject slot in actor-subject constructions may optionally be preceded by diyà.

| | |
|---|---|
| t=um=udak a diyà sa pelusak ku<br>plant=FA=___ I at DET patch my | 'I'll plant in my sweet potato patch.' |
| m=egay a kawal diyà si Atudan<br>FA=give I shirt to DET Atudan | 'I'll give Atudan a shirt.' |

1.1.5 Constructions with <i->

There are three subgroups of i- constructions. (One has already been mentioned in connection with group 3 roots in sec. 1.1.4.).

1.1.5.1 <i-> indicating goal-subject

The following are examples in context of a large group of roots which do not combine with the affix set -en, but indicate goal-subject by the affix set i-:

| | |
|---|---|
| i=tudak ku sa katilà<br>NI=plant I DET swt.potato | 'I'll plant the sweet potato.' |
| i=begay ku sa kawal diyà keniko<br>NI=give I DET shirt to you | 'I'll give you a shirt.' |
| **i=tagù ku dutu<br>NI=put I there | 'I'll put it there.' |
| dawat ig=tenà ku<br>pen PI=down I | 'I put the pen down.' |
| **agulé ig=hated i kawas dutu kenà di<br>then PI=took swallow to place his | 'Then the swallow took her to his house.' |
| ig=sanggat di sa solok<br>PI=hang he DET basket | 'He hung up the basket.' |
| i=taan di sa bagting<br>NI=push.in he DET arrows | 'He shoved the arrow (into the ground).' |
| i=lidung ku sa kulta<br>NI=hide I DET money | 'I'll hide the money. |
| kalinguwan i=tagkes diyà kayu<br>kalinguwan NI=tie to wood | 'The kalinguwan will be tied on to wood.' |
| ig=tukid ku keniyu sa bunga't kayu<br>PI=distribute I you DET fruit=LIG tree | 'I shared the fruit among you all.' |

These sentences are not simple goal-subject constructions. A third party (a location or recipient, etc.) is usually implied or explicit. They may best be defined as third-party goal-subject constructions. The subject is generally inanimate or nonperson.

| | |
|---|---|
| tudak | 'to plant sweet potato in the ground' |
| begay | 'to give something to someone' |

| | |
|---|---|
| tagu | 'to place something in something' |
| tenà | 'to lay something down on the ground' |
| hated | 'to take something to someone' |
| sanggat | 'to hang something on something' |
| taan | 'to shove something into something' |
| lidung | 'to hide something from someone' |
| tagkes | 'to tie something to something' |
| tukid | 'to give something to everyone' |

1.1.5.2 <i-> indicating person subject; <en-> indicating inanimate subject

One group of roots combine with both <en-> and <i-> to indicate goal-subject. In the four examples found to date the subject of the <i-> constructions is inanimate, and the subject of the <-en> constructions is a person. This may not be significant, though in the absence of anything indicating the contrary there is good reason to regard it as significant. The case for such division of function of the affixes is further supported by the use of <i-> to indicate an instrument-subject (see sec. 1.1.5.3), which must always be inanimate. Further confirmation is found in the <pe-> active constructions to be dealt with later (sec. 1.4) where i- indicates inanimate subject and -en most commonly animate, though it may also indicate inanimate subject.

It should be noted that the subject of the verb constructions dealt with in the section on "group 3 roots which combine with <i-> but not <-en>)" (1.1.4) are usually inanimate or not a person. This is true of the great majority of roots in this class though a few may indicate a person subject. If, as seems to be the case with roots of this group, <i-> is substituting for <-en>, it is to be expected that it would behave like <-en> in indicating both person and inanimate subject. The fact, however, that most of the subjects are inanimate even with these roots stresses the bias of <i-> towards inanimate subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| b=in=uung di aken<br>throw=PO=___ he me | 'He threw a stone at me.' (He hit me.) |
| agulé ig=buung i kenogon sa bukay beleg<br>then PI=throw DET maiden DET white eel | 'Then the maiden threw the white eel away.' |
| umow=en da kuna<br>call=FO they you | 'They are calling you (to come, etc.).' |
| ngadan iya ig=umow ko<br>what that PI=call you | 'What thing did you call for?' |
| sa saging ig=sugù ku si Atudan<br>DET bananas PI=order I DET Atudan | 'I ordered Atudan to get bananas.' |

si Atudan s=in=ugù da
DET Atudan order=PO=___ they
'They ordered Atudan (to get bananas).'

aken, endà duen lenawen ig=tulù ku
I not there.is Moro PI=teach I
'As for me, I did not teach (you) any Moro dialect.'

eg=tulu=en di kita
NO=teach=OF she us
'She is teaching us.'

### 1.1.5.3 <i-> indicating instrument-subject

i- combines with many roots to indicate an instrument in subject slot.

sini pinsil i=sulat ku
this pencil NI=write I
'I'll write with this pencil.'

sini manuk i=bayad ku sak in=utang ku diyà
this fowl NI=pay I the PO=debt my to
'I'll pay my indebtedness to you with a fowl.'

keniko
you

sa kesalaan i Kaldon i=tigtu di
DET fine DET Kaldon NI=put.right he
'Kaldon will placate Mama by his fine.'

si Mama
DET Mama

sidò kayu, p=in=e=tigdeg, ig=kuwa babuy
that wood PO=CA=___=stand PI=get pigs
'That length of wood, erected (over there), was set up to catch pigs.'

sini kulta i=sukay ku amuk duen
this money NI=pay I if there.is
'I'll give this money for payment if someone will work for me.'

eg=galebek diyà kenak
NA=work for me

ngadan iya i=sulù ko
what that NI=light you
'What will you use to spotlight (the deer)?'

| | |
|---|---|
| i=hiyup apuy sa lebuk<br>NI=blow fire DET bamboo | 'I use a bamboo cylinder to blow the fire.' |
| k=in=uwa di ma sa belagen; segulé<br>get=PO=___ he again DET rattan once<br>daa t=in=epi<br>only split=PO=___ | 'Once more he got rattan; he split it only once.' |
| **i=polot di sa lungun busaw<br>NI=tie he DET coffin spirit.being | 'He tied up the hollow log coffin of the spirit with it.' |
| **Question: ngadan angay=an sini selagi<br>what go=FR this drum | 'Where is the drum being taken to?' |
| **Reply: i=sunggud ku sawa ku<br>NI=bride.price I wife my | 'I'm taking it to pay for my wife's bride price with it.' |

It does not seem possible for an instrument-subject construction to be cast in actor-subject form, but it may be cast in goal-subject form.

Example of instrument-subject:

| | |
|---|---|
| sini kelu i=tayagpes ku diyà sa me=doo<br>this bolo NI=clear I in DET ADJ=many<br>mebenes diyà tinibah ku<br>weeds in clearing my | 'I'll use this bolo to clear up the many weeds in my farm clearing.' |

Example of goal-subject:

| | |
|---|---|
| t=in=ayagpes ku tabas sa me=doo mebenes<br>clear=PO=___ I tabas DET ADJ=many weeds | 'I cleared the pile of weeds with a tabas (long bolo).' |

1.1.6 bael, a special case

The root bael 'make' does not combine with either <-en> or <i->. Some utterances have been recorded in which instrument seemed to be indicated by -an.

| | |
|---|---|
| tumbaga b=in=ael=an da selagi<br>copper make=PR=___=RF they drum | 'They used copper to make the drum.' |
| ngingi b=in=ael=an di dalesan<br>saliva make=PR=___=RF he house | 'It (spider) made its house from saliva.' |
| b=in=ael=an kuden sa tanà<br>make=PR=___=RF pot DET earth | 'The pot was made from earth.' |

### 1.1.7 Summary of active verbal constructions

There is a major structural division between <-um-> actor-subject constructions on the one hand and non-actor-subject constructions on the other. This difference may be expressed by calling the former constructions a keniko constructions after such typical expression as:

| | |
|---|---|
| h=um=aa a keniko<br>see=FA=___ I you | 'I would like to watch you.' |

Non-actor-subject constructions are referred to as ku kuna constructions after such typical expressions as:

| | |
|---|---|
| h=in=aa ku kuna<br>see=PO=___ I you | 'I saw you.' |

All roots may occur in <-um-> constructions either intransitively or as transitive a keniko constructions. Actor-subject constructions tend to be single-party intransitive constructions, in which the significant relationship ties the subject to the verb as an actor.

Should the significant relationship be established between the verb and an other-than-actor substantive, the verb root associates with an affix of the non-actor-subject series. All such constructions fall under the heading of non-actor-subject constructions. They are essentially two-party constructions presupposing both a subject and agent.

Within these constructions a distinction is commonly made between persons and nonpersons in subject slot. This distinction is made by a group of roots which combine with both <-en> and <i->, the former indicating person subject, the latter nonperson subject. The same distinction is very commonly made by the same affixes in active pe- constructions, to be dealt with later (sec. 1.4).

There are other roots that combine with both <i-> and <-en> in which this distinction is restricted to the former affix, <i-> indicating an inanimate instrument in subject slot, but <-en> permitting either person or inanimate thing in subject slot.

Should a root not combine with <-en>, the function of <-en> is usually taken over by <i->. This tends to bring a third party into the central sentence structure. The subject is the goal, as with <-en>, and is usually inanimate or a nonperson (e.g., horse). A third party is implied. It may be inanimate and indicate location, or it may be a person who is the recipient of the action, etc. This party is commonly brought into subject slot by the affix <-an>.

-an may also substitute for <-en> in goal-subject constructions, which are generally two party indicating a person subject. It may also indicate a person subject even with those roots which combine with <-en>. In such constructions the person (or sometimes animal) subject is the beneficiary of the action, the recipient of the goal.

## 1.2 Stative verbal constructions

Stative verbal constructions, which are labelled "involuntary" in the examples following Johnston (1975), are indicated by the affixes meke-, peke-, me-, and ke-. The last three are found in combination with affixes already identified as active verbal affixes, but they neutralize their active component. None of the affixes, however, are found in combination with the goal-subject affix -en.

A time-aspect contrast is made within meke- and me- by the replacement of m by n. This seems to be achieved by the infixation of -in- followed by the reduction of the initial mi (i.e, me- + -in- > mine- > ne-). This time-aspect contrast presumably parallels the contrast already mentioned under active verbal constructions. Time-aspect contrast is indicated in ke- forms by the actor-subject affixes mig- and -um-, though eg- is most commonly associated with ke-.

### 1.2.1 meke- constructions

A number of roots enter into combination with meke- that have not been found in combination with active verbal affixes. Such roots seem to be semantically stative in themselves, implying a state rather than an action.

| | |
|---|---|
| neke=lowon sidò diyà siya diisek<br>IPA=longer that to the little | 'That is longer than the short one.' |
| neke=tigdulas a<br>IPA=skid I | 'I skidded (on an object).' |
| neke=bulug a eg=angay sabun<br>IPA=waste I NA=go soap | 'I made a wasted trip for soap.' |
| neke=sugat sa ebà ku sa kayu<br>IPA=strike DET mouth my DET wood | 'The wood struck my mouth.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| **meke=uma diyà palay<br>IFA=reach to rice | 'The bodies will be kept until rice harvest for burial.' |

In none of the foregoing sentences is the action premeditated by the subject. Attention is drawn to the state of the subject or to the result of an action. The subject is always passively involved in the action and is never an actor.

With roots that may also enter into combination with active verbal affixes the stative nature of the constructions is not always so obvious.

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk endà meke=tayagpes ké, bulit=an da<br>if not IFA=clear we angry=FR they<br><br>kami<br>us | 'If we do not clear land they'll be angry with us.' |
| **iya pelà meke=gemow<br>that just IFA=come.up | 'He has just managed to get up (a dog trying to climb up into house).' |
| si Tom, meke=ipanaw da dé<br>DET Tom IFA=travel they PRT | 'Tom and the others, they are on their way.' |

In these and similar sentences the emphasis is not so much on the action as the achievement of the action. Attention is drawn to a fact. This may best be indicated in English by the auxiliary has or have in, for example, "he has climbed up" and "they have gone."

A clear contrast between stative and active is made by the root iling 'like'.

Active examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=iling=an di Papi ya<br>NR=imitate=RF she Puppy DET | 'She is imitating Puppy.' |
| tugkeling eg=iling etaw<br>tugkeling NA=imitate people | 'The tugkeling bird imitates people.' |

Stative examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| neke=iling bekong keletiloy<br>IPA=imitate bekong keletiloy | 'The keletiloy is like a bekong lizard.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| me=doo etaw meke=iling sa linadu | 'Many people have the |
| ADJ=many people IFA=imitate DET sickness | same disease.' |

An equally clear distinction is made by the root ledak 'to break down'.

Active example:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=ledak=en ku sa katilà | 'I'll mash up the |
| NO=break.down=OF I DET swt.potato | sweet potato.' |

Stative example:

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk utuh=an ta sa ihì uled, meke=ledak | 'If we step on snake |
| if step=FR we DET urine snake IFA=rot | urine, our feet will |
| | rot.' |
| lisen ta | |
| feet our | |

When an action is indicated by the verb, this action is not premeditated by the subject but is the result of some outside agent.

| | |
|---|---|
| meke=buung sa batu ig=buung ku | 'The stone I threw |
| IFA=throw DET stone PI=throw I | ricocheted off.' |

While the same root is used in both cases, the first open expression clearly indicates action set off by a party other than the subject.

Unpremeditated action is again indicated in the following use of the root hadek 'to smell'. Used in an active expression it implies a deliberate act of smelling. In the following utterance the action is by no means deliberate, since those who smell the busaw 'evil spirits' are said to die. They are said to smell the evil spirits because the odour envelops them.

| | |
|---|---|
| meke=hadek ké nadeg busaw, me=matay ké | 'If we should smell |
| IFA=smell we odour spirit IFO=die we | the spirit we would |
| | die.' |

Ability, inherent quality, or timeless fact is commonly indicated by meke-.

Example of ability:

| | |
|---|---|
| endà meke=layang di ka pulung tukéey | 'It can't fly because |
| not IFO=fly it as so little | it is so little.' |

Example of inherent quality:

| | |
|---|---|
| meke=hilu sidò dalem di, sobuy<br>IFA=intoxicate that inside it sobuy | 'The inside of the sobuy gourd is intoxicating.' |

Example of timeless fact:

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk endà duen ngingi, endà meke=kaen<br>if not there.is saliva not IFA=eat | 'If we had no saliva we would not be able to eat.' |
| ki<br>we | |

meke- is found in both transitive a keniko constructions and intransitive constructions referred to as a+ constructions. It has been found only once in a ku kuna construction. [The meke- affixes are used with both actor/agent/experiencer focus and instrument focus; see Table 2 in Johnston 1975. R.E.]

| | |
|---|---|
| duen me=doo tamuk meke=begay ta sa<br>there.is ADJ=many tamuk IFI=give we DET | 'We have to give many trade items to the father of the girl (if our son marries).' |
| emà bayi<br>father girl | |

1.2.2 peke- constructions

peke- constructions closely parallel meke- constructions. All roots that combine with meke- may also combine with peke-.

Although peke- commonly occurs with eg-, it must be classified with stative affixes. It does not combine with any of the other active verb affixes. Constructions into which it enters are semantically stative rather than active. It seems to indicate ability more often than meke-. This would seem to be its main role. It may, however, indicate ability, achieved fact, inherent quality, or timeless fact.

Examples of ability:

| | |
|---|---|
| endà egpeke=angay di diatas<br>not INA=go he top | 'He could not go to the top.' |
| endà egpeke=enaw di, ka dakel buneg di<br>not INA=rise he as big goiter his | 'He could not rise because his goiter was large.' |
| endà egpeke=bohol a<br>not INA=understand I | 'I can't understand it.' |

endà dé egpeke=bigkat di
not PRT INA=walk he

'He cannot walk.' (His foot is infected.)

endà egpeke=begay a keniko timus, enù
not INA=give I you salt because

ka endà dé duen di
RP not PRT there.is it

'I can't give you salt as there is none.'

Examples of achieved fact:

**endà pa egpeke=temeg
not yet INA=light

'It has not been lighted yet.'

endà egpeke=piedigus sini batà
not INA=wash this child

'This child should not be washed (should he?).'

agulé buyu dé peke=uma sa busaw
then almost PRT INA=reach DET spirits

'The spirits had nearly reached there.'

Example of inherent quality:

endà egpeke=hilu di
not INA=intoxicate it

'It is not intoxicating.'

Examples of timeless fact:

iya maendiya egpeke=haa ké linadu
this reason INA=see we disease

'That is how we become sick.' (That is how we see the disease.)

siya wé tugnus peke=buung diyà
that DEM evening.breeze INA=throw to

dagat, egpeke=tipay
sea INA=pass.over

'The evening breeze hurls itself into the sea and passes over (our house).' (Our house is sheltered from the wind under the crest of a hill.)

peke- is found most commonly with intransitive a+ or a keniko transitive constructions. It has been found only twice in a ku kuna construction.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=malà a keniko endà duen<br>IFO=ashamed I you not there.is | 'I am ashamed to see you, since I have given you nothing.' |
| peke=begay ku keniko<br>INI=give I you | |
| egpeke=lapeg ku kuna eg=polot<br>INI=together I you NA=tie | 'I have tied you up together (with the post).' |

(This last example was said when someone had been accidentally caught up by the rope while it was being wound around a post.)

### 1.2.3 me- and ke- stative constructions

me- and ke- stative constructions will be treated together since they enter into structurally parallel constructions. Roots that enter into combination with these affixes divide into three fairly clearly defined groups. The one group enters into a keniko constructions, the other into ku kuna constructions, and the third into a+ constructions.

The first group of roots have not been found in active constructions and are inherently stative. The second group of roots commonly occur in active constructions and may be inherently active.

The primary division between a keniko and ku kuna constructions has already been noted for active verbal expressions. Where the same root enters into both, one is usually a simple structural reversal of the other, the semantic difference being a minor feature of the contrast.

This primary division is evidently an important feature of the total language structure, since it appears again in stative constructions with inherently stative roots.

Group 1 Roots

| | |
|---|---|
| memalà a keniko<br>egkemalaan ku kuna<br>ashamed I you | 'I am ashamed to you' |
| mebukul a keniko<br>mebukulan ku kuna<br>sad I you | 'I am sad for you' |
| egkebukul a keniko<br>egkebukulan ku kuna<br>sad I you | 'I am sad for you' |
| melimedang a keniko<br>afraid I you | 'I am afraid of you' |

egkelimedangan ku kuna 'they were afraid of me'
nelimedangan da dé aken
afraid they PRT me

mebugà a keniko 'I long to see you'
mebugaan ku kuna
egkebugaan ku kuna
miss I you

egkebayat a keniko 'I have to laugh at you'
egkebayatan ku kuna
laugh I you

melepay a keniko 'you are new to me'
melepayan ku kuna
new I you

mehidu a keniko 'I love you'
mehiduwan ku kuna
love I you

egkelepay a keniko 'you are new to me'
egkelepayan ku kuna
new I you

Judging by native speaker reaction, the a keniko and ku kuna forms with the same root are simple structural variants and semantically identical.

All the above roots refer to the emotions, which tends to confirm the fact that they are inherently stative.

It is interesting to recall that some active roots that enter into two-party goal-subject constructions do not enter into two-party transitive actor-subject constructions but are primarily or exclusively intransitive in actor-subject constructions. This is paralleled by roots which are inherently stative.

The roots lipeng 'to forget' and tiig 'to know' have been found only in stative constructions.

ne=lipeng=an ku sak d=in=ineg ku 'I forgot what I
IPR=forget=RF I DET hear=PO=___ I heard.'

kuna me=tiig=an ko dé siya in=ikagi ku 'You know what I said
you IFR=know=RF you PRT that PO=say I to you last night.'

egoh sigep
time night

endà me=tiig=an ké imatay ungéh 'We don't know how to
not IFR=know=RF we kill rat kill rats.'

These roots do not enter into a keniko constructions, only into constructions bearing a structural similarity to intransitive actor-subject constructions.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=tiig a doo<br>IFO=know I PRT | 'Yes, I understand.' |
| ne=lipeng a<br>IPO=forget I | 'I forgot.' |

These two expressions may, however, be expanded into a keniko constructions by the addition of a secondary transitive active verb expression.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=tiig a eg=kuwa't ungéh<br>IFO=know I NA=get rat | 'I know how to catch rats.' |
| ne=lipeng a eg=uwit manuk<br>IPO=forget I NA=bring bird | 'I forgot to bring the bird.' |

It would appear that -an functions with stative roots after the manner of -en with active roots.

The parallel between active and stative a keniko constructions is mostly structural. With active constructions the subject is unambiguously the actor. With stative constructions the subject is passively related to the verb. This is particularly apparent with roots that refer to the emotions. With such roots the nonsubject keniko item is the active party giving rise to the emotion of the subject.

There is an interesting deviation from the norm with a very small group of roots of this class. With other roots, active or stative, -an is invariably associated with ku kuna constructions. With this subgroup -an may associate with a keniko constructions.

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=mala=an a keniko<br>INR=shame=RF I you | 'I am ashamed to be seen by you.' |
| egke=limedang=an a keniko<br>INR=afraid=RF I you | 'I am afraid of you.' |
| ne=magtu=an a keniko<br>IPR=new=RF I you | 'You are new to me.' |
| egke=magtu=an a keniko<br>INR=new=RF I you | 'You are new to me.' |
| egke=dilung=an a keniko<br>INR=hide=RF I you | 'You block my view.' |

In these the subject is undoubtedly passively related to the verb expression, but some measure of initiative would appear to lie with the subject. This is brought out by the following utterance:

| | |
|---|---|
| éhé sidò dalesan, amuk me=doo etaw | 'For instance, that |
| e.g. that house if ADJ=many people | house, if there are many people there and |
| dutu amuk endà duen sempek oy | I have no trousers or |
| there if not there.is shorts or | shirt, I would be ashamed to be seen by |
| kawal ku egke=mala=an a kenagda | them.' |
| shirt my INR=ashamed=RF I them | |

In this the embarrassment is a result of the subject's condition, though undoubtedly conditioned by the presence of the second party. This distinguishes it semantically from the more usual stative a keniko constructions not associated with -an, in which the emotions of the subject are presumably stimulated entirely by the activity or condition of the second party.

The expression egkedilungan a keniko has been found in contrast with egkedilungan ku kuna. In this case the contrast is both structural and semantic and indicates the interesting active-yet-passive role of the subject in the a keniko construction, as against the entirely passive nature of the subject in the ku kuna construction.

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=dilung=an ko aken, iya maen di ya | 'You prevent my being |
| INR=obscure=RF you me the reason its | seen (I have been hidden blocked from |
| **endà eg=hau=wen di duu aken | his sight by you) so |
| not NO=see=OF he NEG me | he cannot see me.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=dilung=an a keniko iya maen di ya | 'You block my view (I |
| INR=obscure=RF I you that reason it | have been blocked out of sight by you) so |
| **endà eg=hau=wen ku duu | I can't see him.' |
| not NO=see=OF I NEG | |

Group 2 roots

Roots that occur in active constructions have not yet been found in a keniko stative constructions and presumably may not occur in this form. They commonly enter into ku kuna constructions, which are essentially two-party constructions with subject and agent. In active constructions the agent is the active participant or performer of the action. In stative ku kuna constructions the agent, while it undoubtedly performs the action implied by the verb root, is not always the prime mover or controller of the action. Even where the agent is the prime mover, the total construction refers to the state following the action rather than the action itself.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=haa ta sa linadu | 'We saw the disease.' |
| IFO=see we DET sickness | (caught the sickness) |

The Manobos believe that certain diseases are supernaturally inflicted. As far as can be determined the person so infected must first have seen something which causes the sickness. It is obvious from this that the agent of the above construction would not be looking for such a thing but would only see it if the thing unavoidably came into view. In a sense, the initiative lies with the subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| endà egke=bekad ku duu sa sagpeng | 'I can't remove the |
| not INO=remove I NEG DET lid | lid.' |

In this utterance the initiative would again appear to lie with the subject. The lid is so firmly fixed that it will not yield. The sentence could better be translated, "The lid will not yield to me."

The essentially stative nature of the construction is indicated by the idiom nekuwa di aken 'He's got me' (I can't answer him).

In active constructions the root kuwa means to 'take/catch':

| | |
|---|---|
| endà ne=kuwa ku duu | 'I was not able to |
| not IPO=catch I NEG | catch it.' (The bird |
| | eluded me.) |

In this utterance kuwa carries its active meaning, but the initiative would appear to lie partly with the subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=uma ku sa saging | 'I can reach the |
| IFO=reach I DET banana.tree | the banana tree.' (It |
| | is within my reach.) |

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=ambak kelamag sa kayu | 'The tree is jostled |
| INO=collide wind DET tree | by the wind.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=hagtay museng sa emal | 'The loris can be |
| INO=live charcoal DET loris | kept alive by |
| | charcoal.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=lagang ki apuy | 'We would be scorched |
| INO=scorch we fire | by the fire.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| endà dé egke=tagped di siya kayu, ka endà | 'He could not cut the |
| not PRT INO=cut he the tree as not | wood up because he had |
| | no bolo.' |

duen gelay di
there.is bolo his

Most of the above utterances and others of like nature are parallel in structure with active goal-subject constructions and appear to be restricted to simple two-party constructions. There is a difference in meaning illustrated by the following contrasts which probably hold good for most of the other roots.

| | |
|---|---|
| endà dé egke=tagped di sa kayu<br>not PRT INO=cut he DET wood | 'He could not cut the wood.' (He had no axe.) |
| endà t=in=agped di sa kayu<br>not cut=PO=___ he DET wood | 'He did not cut the wood.' |
| egke=hagtay museng sa emal<br>INO=live charcoal DET loris | 'A loris can be kept alive with charcoal.' (It can be fed on charcoal.) |
| eg=hagtay=en ku museng sa emal<br>NO=live=OF I charcoal DET loris | 'I am feeding the loris with charcoal to keep it alive.' |

*eghagtayen museng sa emal is not permitted since an inanimate thing may not be the agent of an active verbal construction except as a supplementary agent to a person agent. It may be and commonly is the principal agent of stative constructions with me- and ke-.

The roots of this group have also been found in combination with -an in stative ku kuna constructions. The relationship between these and the previous ku kuna constructions is not clear, but they appear to be different, the -an construction approximating active goal-subject constructions more closely than the other.

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk si Labu me=dapag=an di iya apuy<br>when DET Labu IFR=near=RF he that fire | 'When Labu would come near to the fire (it would move off).' |
| egke=salid=an da kagdi<br>INR=leave=RF they him | 'They left him behind.' |
| egke=sukay=an di aken<br>INR=pay=RF he me | 'I have been paid by him.' |

egke=besék=én a
INR=splash=RF I
'I have been splashed on.' (a reduced ku kuna expression)

egke=tulik=an ku sa i=begay ko kenak
INR=keep.tally=RF I DET NI=give you me
'I would keep count of the things you would give me.'

ne=legdaw=an kuleman sa
IPR=light=RF pressure.lamp DET
'The room has been illuminated by the pressure lamp.'

luwang
room.interior

With a few roots such constructions have been found in which the subject is an implied or explicit location, reminiscent of active -an constructions. [The a+ construction represents a clause consisting of the verb and one substantive as the subject (actor or experiencer) but no other substantive with an object or agent role.--R.E.]

egke=uma=an ku sidò kenà i Kumà
INR=reach=RF I that place DET Kuma
'I got as far as the house of Kuma.'

me=telu=wan ké daa agdaw
IFR=three=RF we only day
'We will stay only three days (at that place).'

Group 3 roots

Many roots enter into simple a+ constructions with me- and ke- involving a subject but no other substantive corresponding to the object of a keniko constructions or the agent of ku kuna constructions. [The a+ construction represents a clause consisting of the verb and one substantive as the subject (actor or experiencer) but no other substantive with an object or agent role. R.E.]

egke=genaw a
INO=cold I
'I am cold.' (malarial chills)

egke=edup a
INO=hot I
'I am hot.' (malarial fever)

egke=sakit sa pigsà
INO=pain DET boil
'The boil is painful.'

me=begat sa etaw
ADJ=heavy DET person
'The man is heavy.'

me=daet iya wé
ADJ=bad that DEM
'That is bad.'

The meaning of the prefixes in these expressions is best illustrated by contrast with the -an forms with the same roots.

ne=genaw=an danà di mig=angay dutu Kulaman
IPR=cold=RF by he PA=go to Kulaman
'He caught malaria from going to Kulaman.'

egke=edup=an a't agdaw
INR=hot=RF I=LIG sun
'I am hot from being in the sun.'

ne=sakit=an ka, Umpit
IPR=pain=RF you Umpit
'Have you been hurt, Umpit?'

egke=begat=an siya dalesan
INR=heavy=RF that house
'The house was overweighted (and collapsed).'

egke=daet=en sa kedungon
INO=bad=OF DET abaca
'The abaca has been knocked down.'

In a+ constructions ke- and me- indicate spontaneous or inherent state of activity. A boil is inherently painful, a person with malaria is presumably considered to develop his fevers and chills spontaneously, a person is inherently heavy, and an action may be inherently bad. -an introduces an outside factor responsible for the condition of the subject. A person catches malaria from living in a certain locality; a person becomes hot from being in the sun; a person feels pain if someone treads on his foot or has toothache; a house is overweighted when many people climb into it; a tree or machine becomes bad, useless, broken down when something is done to spoil or smash it.

A similar contrast exists between <-en> goal-subject constructions and a+ me- constructions. me- indicates spontaneous action; -en, the intervention of a person agent.

p=in=adeng ku sa palitaan
put.out=PO=___ I DET lantern
'I put out the lantern.'

ne=padeng sa palitaan
IPO=put.out DET lantern
'The lantern has gone out.'

t=in=epi ku sa kayu
split=PO=___ I DET wood
'I split the timber.'

| | |
|---|---|
| ne=tepi sa kayu<br>IPO=split DET wood | 'The timber is split.' |

The contrast between me- and <-en> does not always parallel the foregoing, for example:

| | |
|---|---|
| s=in=agpeng ku sa latà<br>close=PO=___ I DET can | 'I closed down the lid of the tin.' |
| ne=sagpeng si Papi<br>IPO=shut DET Puppy | 'Puppy has been shut out.' (from the house) |

But the me- form refers to the result of the action whereas the -en construction stresses the action.

These a+ constructions should not be confused with formally similar constructions which are a reduction of ku kuna constructions by the omission of the agent.

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=dilek a<br>INO=spear I | 'I have been speared.' (by someone, the agent being implied) |

There are two forms of the prefix me-: me- and ne-. As far as can be determined the difference between these forms is a time factor, which parallels the time factor involved in the active verbal affixes. ne- indicates a past or achieved state, me- a present or future state.

ke- does not indicate time, but time may be indicated in a+ constructions when ke- combines with the <-um-> affix set:

| | |
|---|---|
| segepalay pa k=um=e=dakel sini tuyang<br>one.year yet DRV=FA=___=big this dog | 'In a year's time this dog will become very big.' |
| mig=pelaguy sa langit egoh di<br>PA=flee DET sky time it | 'The sky fled away at the time it became very high.' |
| mig=ke=hagtaw<br>PA=DRV=high | |

a+ constructions are the only constructions in which ke- has been found in combination with -um- and mig-. The stative function of ke- overrules the active function of -um- and mig- to produce a stative utterance.

1.2.4 Expanded ke- constructions

ke- has occasionally been found in constructions more expanded than those thus far described. These constructions resemble in their complexity active constructions rather than stative. In one utterance, the only one of its kind recorded, ke- is found in combination with the affix ig- to form what is distinctly third-party construction.

| | |
|---|---|
| ig=kehidu ku keniko sini ig=begay ku<br>PI=love I you this PI=give I | 'The thing I gave you was to show my affection for you.' |

This example again stresses the essentially third-party role of the affix set <i-> and its consistent indication of nonperson subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=limun=an ku kelatas sa dawat<br>INR=cover=RF I paper DET pen | 'I have covered the pen with paper.' |

This is a further example of an expanded ke- construction involving a supplementary agent.

1.2.5 ku kuna constructions

There are two slots common to all ku kuna constructions, active and stative. These slots have been defined as subject and agent slot respectively. Both slots may be filled by nouns.

| | |
|---|---|
| sini atep me=sambi=an libi<br>this roof IFR=replace=RF libi | 'This roof will be replaced with libi palm.' |
| egke=hagtay museng sa emal<br>INO=live charcoal DET loris | 'The loris is kept alive with charcoal.' |
| egke=ambak kelamag sa kayu<br>INO=collide wind DET tree | 'The tree is being jostled by the wind.' |
| dogo buyu ne=uma't apuy siya dalesan<br>near almost IPO=reach fire the house | 'The house was very nearly reached by the fire.' |
| langun sini sugudsugud ne=sangkap wayeg<br>all these plains IPO=inundate water | 'All these plains were inundated with water.' |

The relationship of the item substituting in agent slot may occasionally be indicated overtly by danà.

| | |
|---|---|
| ne=pelé a danà keluwen<br>IPO=wet I by grass | 'I was soaked by the (wet) grass.' |

The subject noun may occur before or after the verb; but the agent noun, which must follow the verb, takes priority for position immediately following the verb. If the agent is overtly indicated by danà, it follows the subject.

A combination of a pronoun goal and noun agent in ku kuna constructions bears a formal similarity to a keniko constructions, which can be misleading.

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=laep ki sa emà i Sida<br>INO=disturb we DET father DET Sida<br><br>eg=duyuy<br>NA=sing | 'We have been disturbed by the singing of Sida's father.' |
| egke=bekol a agdaw<br>INO=dry.out I sun | 'I have been dried out by the sun.' |
| eg=ikagi sa langit, egke=sugat a sa<br>NA=say DET sky INO=struck I DET<br><br>selu<br>pounding.stick | 'The sky said, "I have been struck by the pounding stick."' |

## 1.3 Verbal question constructions

Though most questions are expressed in equational form (see sec. 2.5), questions may be verbal constructions. In these the question particles function as close attributes of the open verbal expression, occurring sentence initially and taking as clitics those items normally following the verb.

| | |
|---|---|
| nengan di m=angay dini<br>when he FA=go here | 'When will he come here?' |
| nengan ko t=um=ulù kenami<br>when you teach=FA=___ us | 'When will you teach us.' |
| nengan ko h=in=emued<br>when you bite=PO=___ | 'When were you bitten?' |
| kenà ko t=in=ebek<br>place you inject=PO=___ | 'Where were you injected?' |
| maen ko eg=angay dini<br>reason you NA=go here | 'Why did you come here?' |

ngadan has not been found in verbal constructions.

It should be noted that series 1 <a> pronouns never occur as clitics to the question particles. It seems that the series 2 ku pronouns substitute for the series 1 pronouns in this position.

kenà ko tinebek is presumably derived from kenà ka tinebek, ka being the subject of the verbal tinebek.

## 1.4 Active pe- constructions (causative constructions)

The prefix pe- combines with the four active affix sets already dealt with. In general the use of this prefix implies the intervention of a party who does not perform the action stated in the verb root, but who sets the action in motion.

### 1.4.1 egpe- Constructions

| | |
|---|---|
| si ema eg=eked eg=pe=tebek<br>DET Father NA=dislike NA=CA=inject | 'Father dislikes being injected.' (Father refused to be injected.) |
| m=eked a eg=pe=sabà<br>FA=dislike I NA=CA=hold | 'I dislike being held.' (I avoided being caught.) |

In these and similar sentences the subject of the major nuclear verb stands in the relation of an object to the minor verb. The actor of the minor verb is an implied second party.

A similar relationship is implied in the following sentences with a single verb. The second party performs the action reflecting back on the subject who initiates the action.

| | |
|---|---|
| pe=bulung a kenagda<br>CA=medicine I them | 'I will get them to give me medicine.' (I will get them to medicine me.) |
| eg=pe=baba a keniko<br>NA=CA=carry.on.back I you | 'I'll get you to carry me.' |
| eg=angay a eg=pe=tebek keniko<br>NA=go I NA=CA=inject you | 'I am going to get you to inject me.' |
| eg=pe=gudgud a keniko<br>NA=CA=rub.down I you | 'I get you to rub me down.' |

The action, however, does not reflect back in quite this manner in third-party constructions.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=pe=uwit a sulat keniko<br>NA=CA=take I letter you | 'I get you to take a letter for me.' |
| pe=kuwa a kayu kenagdi<br>CA=get I wood him | 'I get him to get wood for me.' |

In the foregoing sentences the goal obligatorily precedes the performer of the action. The subject initiator becomes the beneficiary of the action. This was confirmed by the language helper, who equated the following two sentences (the second being the command form of a beneficiary -an construction):

| | |
|---|---|
| pe=kuwa a kayu keniko<br>CA=get I wood you | 'Get wood for me.' |
| kuwa=i ko pa aken kayu<br>get=IMP you PRT me wood | 'Get wood for me.' |

Another construction is involved in the following sentences, in which (especially in the second, third, fifth, and sixth) the subject is clearly the object of its own action. The constructions in these sentences correspond fairly closely to the English reflexive.

| | |
|---|---|
| **1. eg=pe=belabag diyà sebang<br>NA=CA=straddle at river.mouth | 'It (the crocodile) straddles the river mouth.' |
| 2. takà eg=pe=baluk awang dò sa<br>constantly NA=CA=throw air LOC DET<br>embung<br>porpoise | 'The porpoises constantly throw themselves into the air.' |
| 3. eg=pe=hagtaw sa dalit<br>NA=CA=high DET eagle | 'The eagle lifts itself in flight.' |
| 4. eg=pe=belagtay ki diyà me=doo buluh<br>NA=CA=lie.over we on ADJ=many floor | 'We stretch ourselves over the numerous floor bearers.' |
| 5. eg=pe=batung sa emal<br>NA=CA=lift DET loris | 'The loris hauls itself up.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| 6. eg=pe=tuntun sa kopoh<br>NA=CA=lower DET spider | 'The spider lowers himself (by his thread).' |

In more obscure cases it is assumed that the same interpretation holds:

| | |
|---|---|
| si Papi eg=pelaway<br>DET Puppy NA=jump | 'Puppy leapt down.' (hurled himself after another dog) |

A somewhat parallel construction is seen in the following expression in which the action of the subject reflects back on the subject and an object indicating the resulting state is added.

| | |
|---|---|
| mig=pe=baluy bituen telu sa<br>PA=CA=possible star three DET<br><br>muna etaw<br>first person | 'The first man turned himself into (became) the three stars constellation.' |

egpe- constructions may also be formed with stative roots to indicate a state of the subject actively conditioned by the subject as in the following example, which closely parallels the preceding one.

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk aken mig=pe=daet dutu, endà<br>if I PA=CA=bad there not<br><br>meke=angay a dutu<br>IFA=go I there | 'If I had been bad there, I would not go there (for fear of revenge).' |

In all the pe- constructions dealt with so far the reflexive element seems to be a common feature. This is not the case in such expressions as:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=pe=delug a owong<br>NA=CA=slide I canoe | 'I slide the canoe along.' |
| eg=pe=sawa a sa anak ku<br>NA=CA=marry I DET child my | 'I marry my child off.' |

In these cases, especially the first, the action in no way reflects back on the subject. The action implied by the verb root is, however, performed by something or someone as a result of intervention by another initiating party, the subject. If the canoe were to slide spontaneously, the expression would be dumelug sa owong.

pe- also enters into constructions with the affix series <-en>, -an, and <i->.

With many roots there is a clear distinction of function between the various combinations.

uwit 'bring/take':

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=pe=uwit=en ku kuna sulat dutu dagat<br>NA=CA=take=OF I you letter to sea<br><br>dò<br>LOC | 'I'll get you to take a letter to the coast for me.' |
| ig=pe=uwit ku keniko sa begas dutu Kaut<br>PI=CA=take I you DET rice to Kaut<br><br>dò<br>LOC | 'I'll get you to take some rice to Kaut.' |
| si Kaut p=in=e=uwit=an ku sa timus<br>DET Kaut CA=PR=___=bring=RF I DET salt<br><br>diyà si Mundi.<br>to DET Mundi | 'I sent salt to Kaut by Mundi.' |

kuwa 'get':

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=pe=kuwa a kayu keniko<br>NA=CA=get I wood you | 'I want you to get wood for me.' |
| eg=pe=kuwa=en ku kuna kayu<br>NA=CA=get=OF I you wood | 'I'll get you to get wood for me.' |
| ig=pe=kuwa ku keniko sa felaselait<br>PI=CA=get I you DET torch | 'I got you to get me the flashlight.' |

With these and roots of equal transitivity the performer of the action (as distinct from the agent who requests or initiates the action) is brought into the subject slot by the affix <-en>. The ultimate goal of the action (generally a nonperson) is brought into the subject slot by the affix set <i->. If the action is performed for the benefit of some party other than the initiator of the action, this new party may be brought into the subject role by the affix set -an.

With roots that are transitive in simple actor-subject constructions, <pe- -en> and <ipe-> produce three-party constructions involving an initiating agent, an intermediate third party who performs the action implied by the verb root, and a second party which is the ultimate goal of the action. With -en the intermediate party becomes the subject of a transitive expression. With i- the ultimate goal becomes the subject.

-an used with certain roots produces a four-party construction in which the intermediate party performs an action for the benefit of the fourth party.

### 1.4.2 pe- constructions with <-en>

With stative roots and roots that are intransitive in actor-subject constructions, <-an> produces a simple two-party construction with no intermediate party. (Stative roots are those which enter into a+ constructions with me-, never into ku kuna constructions with me-, including all those roots which function as simple descriptives of noun, either as free roots or prefixed by me-.) The first-party agent performs the action. The second party, which fills the subject slot, bears the same relationship to the verb that the subject of the equivalent simple actor-subject construction or stative construction bears to its verb. If the verb root of the pe- construction is an active root, the subject functions as the performer of the action. If the verb root of the pe- construction is stative, the subject equates with the quality or state indicated by the root. There is no ultimate goal of the action, which is essentially intransitive. In all cases, however, the subject is the goal of the activity of the first-party agent.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=pe=diisek=en ku sa keugpit ku belagen<br>NA=CA=little=OF I DET pare I rattan | 'I cut the rattan down fine.' |
| diisek sini belagen<br>little this rattan | 'This rattan is small.' |
| eg=pe=hapun=en da sa manuk<br>NA=CA=roost=OF they DET hen | 'They are putting the hens up to roost.' |
| h=um=apun dé sa manuk<br>roost=FA=___ PRT DET hen | 'The hens will roost.' |
| amuk tali eg=pe=item=en, endà me=bugtus<br>if rope NA=CA=black=OF not IFO=break<br><br>di<br>it | 'If the rope is blackened, it will not break.' |
| me=item iya wé tali<br>ADJ=black that DEM rope | 'That rope is black.' |
| endà eg=pe=susu=wen di sa anak di, ka<br>not NA=CA=suck=OF she DET child her as<br><br>magtu pelà eg=anak<br>new still NA=born | 'She won't let her offspring suck since she has just given birth (to them).' |

| | |
|---|---|
| s=um=usu sa anak di<br>suck=FA=___ DET child her | 'Her offspring will suck.' |
| eg=pe=angay=en ku dini lima kedoo etaw<br>NO=CA=go=OF I there five number people | 'I'll send five people here.' |
| um=angay a dutu dagat dò<br>FA=go I to sea LOC | 'I am going to the coast.' |
| eg=pe=delug=en ku sa owong<br>NO=CA=slide=OF I DET canoe | 'I'll slide the canoe (down to the sea).' |
| d=um=elug sa owong<br>slide=FA=___ DET canoe | 'The canoe is sliding (of its own accord).' |

<pe- -en> associates most commonly with stative or intransitive active roots to produce simple two-party constructions.

### 1.4.3 pe- constructions with <i->

<ipe-> is most commonly associated with roots that are transitive in actor-subject constructions. This produces three-party constructions with an initiator, performer of the action, and ultimate goal. The goal always fills subject slot.

| | |
|---|---|
| ig=pe=ipat di dema dutu sidò<br>PI=CA=care.for she again to that<br><br>hadi di sa betikel<br>young.sibling her DET necklace | 'She will hand over her necklaces to her young sister.' |
| ig=pe=lengon ku eg=pe=kuwa keniko sa<br>PI=CA=all I NA=CA=get you DET<br><br>lebuk<br>bamboo | 'I got you to get all the bamboo (I needed).' |
| ig=pe=lomò di kenaken Papi ya<br>PI=CA=feed he me Puppy DET | 'He got me to feed Puppy (during his absence).' |
| ig=pe=gatuk di kenaken<br>PI=CA=name she me | 'She got me to name it.' |

duen me=doo kayu ig=pe=kedan di 'He got me to move a
there.is ADJ=many wood PI=CA=remove he lot of wood.'

kenaken
me

i=pe=baba di kenaken sa batà, amuk 'She will give me the
NI=CA=carry she me DET child if baby to carry if we go
walking.'

m=ipanaw ké
FA=walk we

The intermediate performer of the action is not always explicit.

**endà i=pe=sagbay ku i duu 'I will not let anyone
not NI=CA=borrow I PRT NEG borrow it.'

<ipe-> may combine with stative roots. But whereas <egpe- -en> with stative roots always produces a two-party construction with no intermediate performer, <ipe-> generally produces a three-party construction with an implied or explicit intermediate performer of the action.

i=pe=diisek ku kenagdi sa belagen 'I'll get him to cut
NI=CA=little I him DET rattan the rattan down fine.'

<ipe-> may, however, combine with a stative root to produce a two-party construction with no intermediate party. Only one example of this type has been found:

endà ig=pe=sugat di diyà sidò ig=sekeg 'It (the nail) was
not PI=CA=strike it to that brace not driven into the
brace.'

Where <-en> combines with a stative root, the subject of the <pe- -en> construction equates with the root. In the preceding <ipe-> example it is the nonsubject which equates with the root, as seen from the following usage of the root sugat:

eg=tilò a, anì endà me=sugat a 'I dodge so that I
NA=dodge I so.that not IFO=strike I will not be hit.'

<ipe-> has also been found (but only occasionally) with intransitive active roots to produce two-party constructions. A distinction can again be made between <pe- -en> and <ipe-> two-party constructions. In the former the subject becomes the actor with reference to the verb root. With the latter the subject may not function as the actor of the same root used in simple actor-subject constructions.

| | |
|---|---|
| ig=pe=liyu di sa belad di<br>PI=CA=behind he DET hands his | 'He put his hands behind his back.' |
| ig=pe=tugkolò ku diyà iyug i Papi sa<br>PI=CA=perch you on back DET Puppy DET<br>bauku<br>form | 'You perched the form on Puppy's back.' |

liyu 'go behind/outside' and tugkolò 'to perch (on a drum, etc.)' require active subjects when used in simple actor-subject constructions.

As with simple active constructions <i-> may be used with pe- to indicate inanimate instrument-subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk tali eg=pe=item=en endà me=bugtus di<br>if rope NO=CA=black=OF not IFO=break it | 'If the rope is blackened, it will not break.' |
| Question: ngadan ig=pe=item<br>what PI=CA=black | 'What was used to blacken it?' |
| Reply: tudi<br>tree.wax | 'Tree wax.' |

### 1.4.4 pe- constructions with -an

While <pe- -an> may enter into constructions indicating beneficiary-subject, it is more commonly found in constructions which appear to be two-party goal-subject with no intermediate actor. The construction may, however, indicate location, either in the subject or by implication in the total sentence structure.

Simple goal-subject

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=petuyuh=an di kiyu<br>NR=watch=RF he you | 'It (the snake) is keeping you under observation.' |
| eg=pe=duwa=an ku eg=saba sa bubun ku<br>NR=CA=two=RF I NA=hold DET thigh my | 'I am holding my thigh with both hands.' |
| p=in=e=gilu=wan i Malayu Balut ta<br>CA=PR=___=orphan=RF DET Malayu Balut DET | 'Balut was adopted by Malayu.' |
| eg=pe=unut=an da siya timul<br>NR=CA=accompany=RF they the south.wind | 'They are following up the south wind.' (in the canoe) |

Question: kedu=wan ini kudà — 'Where did this horse
from=FR this horse — come from?'

Reply: **p=in=e=sunggud=an i — 'It was obtained as
CA=PR=___=bride.price=RF DET — a bride price item
by Mama for Gotun
Mama diyà si Gotun — (his daughter).'
Mama for DET Gotun

eg=pe=legdaw=an ku sini luwang — 'I'll light up the
NR=CA=light=RF I this room — room.'

Location implied (-an indicating location)

Question: kenà i Palul — 'Where is Palul?'
place Palul

Reply: **p=in=e=sugu=an sidò amelikano — 'He has just been
**PR=CA=___=order=RF that American — told to come here by
the American.'

Location-subject

sidò Melatunol eg=pe=sawa=an ku sa — 'I married my sister
that Melatunol NR=CA=marry=RF I DET — off at Melatunol.'

tebay ku
sister my

<pe- -an> may also combine with stative roots to produce two-party goal-subject constructions.

si Mali, p=in=e=poko=on di sa lisen — 'Marie shortened the
DET Marie PR=CA=___=short=RF she DET leg — trouser legs.'

seluwel
trouser

1.4.5 Summary of pe- constructions

pe- functions for the most part to produce three-party constructions but may commonly be used with stative or intransitive roots to produce transitive constructions.

The active affixes with which pe- combines behave in much the same way as they do in simple active constructions. The non-actor-subject affix sets <-en>, <i->, and -an most commonly indicate goal-subject. This parallels the situation in simple active constructions where <-en> most commonly

indicates goal-subject, though <i-> especially, and <-an> less commonly, may substitute for <-en> to indicate goal-subject.

pe- goal-subject constructions with <-en> differ from goal constructions with <i->. This difference again parallels the situation in simple active constructions, where <-en> generally indicates two-party constructions, and <i> (for the most part) three-party goal-subject constructions.

The more specific functions of -an and <i-> are again apparent in pe- constructions. In a few cases -an may indicate beneficiary-subject or imply a location. <i-> may occasionally indicate instrument-subject.

## 1.5 b and p class verbs

There is a subclass of active verbs that includes all roots beginning with the three bilabial consonants b, p, and m. Roots with initial p or b when they combine with the infix -um- uniformly take the consonant m as their first phoneme. Two explanations are possible. These roots may not inflect the same as the other roots with -um-, but merely change the first consonant to indicate the inflection, or -um- may be infixed as usual and the initial CV of the combination omitted.

maeg, egbaeg 'to wear a G-string'
migkat, egbigkat 'to walk'
mitiyala, egbitiyala 'to hold a meeting/discuss a dispute'
magtang, egbagtang 'to fell (timber, etc.)'
manà, egpanà 'to shoot an arrow'
mìpi, egpipi 'to wash (clothes)'
mayad, egbayad 'to pay'

Roots with m initial do not take the infix -um-:

mamà 'betel nut mixture'
mamà -um- (actor-subject form) 'to chew betel nut'

The b and p forms of the root indicate command and occur with affixes other than -um-.

| | |
|---|---|
| mayad a | 'I will pay ...' |
| bayad ka | 'Pay up!' |
| bayadan ku kuna | 'I'll pay you.' |
| ibegay ku sa kawal | 'I'll give the shirt.' |
| egpanaen di sa ubal | 'He shot a monkey.' |

Roots with initial h may sometimes behave the same way:

angayen ku humaa sa manuk ---> angayen ku maa sa manuk
go I see DET chicken

## 1.6 Reduced verbal constructions

An agent is always implied in active non-actor-subject and stative constructions, and is usually explicitly indicated. It may, however, be omitted to produce a reduced construction.

| | |
|---|---|
| h=in=aa dé sa tanà<br>see=PO=___ PRT DET earth | 'The earth appeared.'<br>(The earth was seen.) |
| (mi=iyap a doo) amuk begay=an a<br>IFO=like I PRT if give=FR I | '(Yes, I would like<br>it) if I am given it.' |
| eg=awang=an sa tanà<br>NR=clear=RF DET land | 'The land is being<br>cleared.' |
| g=in=esaw=an iya dalesan<br>rafter=PR=___=RF that house | 'The house has been<br>raftered.' (Rafters<br>have been erected<br>in the house.) |
| bayi b=in=ulung gona agdaw<br>girl medicines=PO=___ other day | 'The girl was treated<br>with medicine the<br>other day.' |

Similar abbreviations occur with ke- and me- constructions.

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=kuwa=an a<br>INR=get=RF I | 'I have been taken<br>from.' |

Certain of the unusual a keniko constructions into which me- and -an open expressions have been found to enter may be derived by reduction from double open expressions. This was suggested by such expressions as the following volunteered by the language helper:

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=mala=an a eg=haa keniko<br>INR=embarrass=RF I NA=see you | 'I am embarrassed at<br>being seen by you.' |
| egke=bayat a eg=haa keniko<br>INO=laugh I NA=see you | 'I am forced to laugh<br>when I watch you.' |
| egke=lepay a eg=haa keniko<br>INO=see=first I NA=see you | 'I have seen you for<br>the first time.'<br>(You are new to me.) |

Not all a keniko constructions of the me- and ke- + -an type can be interpreted as reductions, at least as reductions in which the implied second verb is eghaa or one of its forms. Further investigation may show that some other verb is implied.

egke=magtu=an a eg=edà implanu
INR=new=RF I NA=ride plane
'Flying in a plane would be a novel experience for me.' (while flying on a plane)

Should this be so, this would reduce the basic expansions of me- and ke- constructions to two: simple intransitive a+ and ku kuna constructions. It is significant that the stative a keniko constructions are rather uncommon in the language, more the exception than the rule.

## 1.7 Commands

Three main command forms are distinguished: actor-subject commands, goal-subject commands, and a form which relates to both the -an and <i> non-actor-subject constructions, referred to as <-i> commands. It is characteristic of all these command forms that the second-person pronoun is obligatory to the verb expression. Besides these, the stative root uma gives command forms, and there are also double commands and reduced commands.

### 1.7.1 Actor-subject commands

Actor-subject commands derived from simple active constructions consist of the verb root and the series 1 second-person pronoun singular or plural.

angay ka dé dahedò
go you PRT over.there
'Go over there.'

lengag ka
look.up you
'Look up!'

gaté ka dé
hurry you PRT
'Hurry up!'

na, likù ka dé
now, go.home you PRT
'Come on! Go off home!'

temeg ka apuy
light you fire
'Light the fire!'

luwit yu pa siya wé
bark you PRT those DEM
'Strip those (poles).'

egpe- constructions in command form consist of the root plus pe- and the series 1 second-person pronoun.

pe=siyapat ka dé
CA=fast you PRT
'Hurry up (with what you are doing).'

The following is an example of <me-> a+ constructions in command form with the root téél:

| | |
|---|---|
| me=téél ka dé | 'Hurry up!' |
| ADJ=fast you PRT | |

This is identical with the simple narrative construction 'you are fast.' The form tétéél ka! 'hurry up!' was recorded once under circumstances that suggested identity with metéél ka dé.

### 1.7.2 Goal-subject commands

Commands derived from simple <-en> goal-subject constructions consist of the verb root and a series 2 second-person pronoun.

| | |
|---|---|
| **kuwa ko | 'Get it!' |
| get you | |
| **bekut ko dé | 'Wrap it up!' |
| wrap.up you PRT | |
| **uwit ko dé | 'Bring it!' |
| bring you PRT | |
| **dini ko | 'Bring it here!' |
| here you | |
| ini dineg ko | 'Listen here!' |
| this listen you | |
| **telisi ko pelà | 'Just split it up!' |
| split.up you still | |

Commands derived from pe- and se- constructions consist of the verb root prefixed by pe- and se- respectively with a series 2 pronoun following:

| | |
|---|---|
| pe=liyang ko sa pala | 'Turn the spade on its back.' |
| CA=lie.on.back you DET spade | |
| se=lapeg ko dé | 'Take them up in one handful.' (Take them up together.) |
| RC=include you PRT | |

### 1.7.3 <-i> commands

No distinction is made between commands derived from -an and <i-> non-actor-subject constructions.

| | |
|---|---|
| begay=i ko aken<br>give=IMP you me | 'Give (something) to me.' |
| sini kawal ko, begay=i ko kenaken<br>this shirt your give=IMP you me | 'This shirt of yours, give it to me.' |

The first of the preceding two sentences is a third-party recipient-subject construction, corresponding to such a construction as the following in narrative:

| | |
|---|---|
| begay=an ku gatas sa miyong<br>give=FR I milk DET cat | 'I'll give milk to the cat.' |

The second sentence is a goal-subject construction, corresponding to such a narrative sentence as:

| | |
|---|---|
| Duen ma i=begay ku si Atudan,<br>there.is also NI=give I DET Atudan | 'I will give something to Atudan, namely a shirt.' |
| kamasita<br>shirt | |

<igpe-> and egpe- -an narrative constructions also lose their formal identity in command constructions, both becoming pe- -i constructions.

| | |
|---|---|
| **pe=batas=i ko sa wayeg<br>CA=cross=IMP you DET river | 'Carry (it) over the river.' |
| i=pe=batas ku sa tuyang<br>NI=CA=cross I DET dog | 'I will carry the dog over the river.' |
| eg=pe=uwit=an ku kuna bulung<br>NR=CA=bring=RF I you medicine<br>pe=uwit=i ko aken bulung diyà si<br>CA=bring=IMP you me medicine to DET<br>Umpit<br>Umpit | 'I will send medicine to you.'<br>'Send me the medicine by Umpit.' |

### 1.7.4 The root uma in commands

The stative root uma gives interesting command forms:

| | |
|---|---|
| in=uma ko aken dagat dò<br>PO=reach you me sea LOC | 'Catch me up at the sea!' |
| **in=uma ko kawà<br>PC=reach you reach.out | 'Reach up for it.' |
| **ne=uma ko pa<br>IPO=reach you PRT | 'Reach!' |
| ne=uma ko pa Undia duu, Umpit<br>IPO=reach you PRT Mundi DET Umpit | 'Umpit, catch up to Mundi!' |

The following two sentences, which were given as a correlated sequence by the language helper, suggest that the ne- prefix may indicate emphasis as much as command. Command and emphasis might even be synonymous with some roots, for example, nenabù ka 'look out, you'll fall'.

| | |
|---|---|
| Order: ne=uma ko pa Undia Umpit<br>INO=reach you PRT Mundi Umpit | 'Umpit, catch up to Mundi.' |
| Reply: m=ikagi Umpit, ne=uma ku doo<br>FA=say Umpit INO=reach I indeed | 'Umpit will say, "Indeed, I will catch up to him."' |

### 1.7.5 Double commands

Double commands are not common, but their existence is confirmed by the following examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| **uwit ko angay dini<br>bring you go here | 'Bring (it) here!' |
| angay ko temag=i sa apuy<br>go you light=IMP DET fire | 'Go and light up the fire.' |

### 1.7.6 Reduced commands

There is a construction which has been identified as a command but that differs from the preceding types of commands. It probably parallels the previously mentioned reduced verbal constructions (sec. 1.6). On the few occasions this command form was recorded it was derived from -an non-actor-subject constructions.

| | |
|---|---|
| bayad=an a manuk, Umpit<br>pay=FR me chicken Umpit | 'Pay me with a chicken, Umpit.' |
| angat=an a pelà<br>wait=FR me still | 'Wait a while for me.' |

In the foregoing examples and a few similar command forms, the second-person pronoun is dropped. It is obligatory with the other forms of command.

The usual command forms with these roots are:

| | |
|---|---|
| bayad=i ko aken manuk, Umpit<br>pay=IMP you me chicken Umpit | 'Pay me with a chicken, Umpit.' |
| angat=i ko pelà aken<br>wait=IMP you still me | 'Wait a while for me.' |

The parallel statement forms of the expressions are:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=bayad=an ko aken manuk<br>NR=pay=FR you me chicken | 'You will pay me for the chicken.' |
| angat=an ko pelà aken<br>wait=FR you still me | 'You will wait awhile for me.' |

It will be seen that the -an affix of these unusual commands is retained from the statement construction.

## 1.8 External relationship

A common feature of Cotabato Manobo is a substantive standing outside the main structure of the sentence that specifies more particularly the nature of a substantive within the sentence, or that reinforces or emphasises it. The external substantive is usually separated from the rest of the expression by a slight pause.

| | |
|---|---|
| ne=ubus a dé, aken i<br>IPO=finish I PRT I PRT | 'I have finished.' |
| meke=hilu sidò dalem di, sobuy<br>IFA=intoxicate the inside its sobuy | 'The flesh of the sobuy is intoxicating.' |
| endà mi=iyap di eg=pe=tulù, sa sawa ku<br>not IFO=want she NA=CA=teach DET wife my | 'My wife, she does not want to be taught.' |
| duen ma busaw wa daya, bayi<br>There.is also spirit DET there woman | 'There is a female spirit there.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| duen ma i=begay ku si Atudan,<br>there.is also NI=give I DET Atudan | 'I will give something to Atudan, namely, a shirt.' |
| kamasita<br>shirt | |
| l=in=ohot di Igid da, sa tuyang<br>follow=PO=___ he Igid DET DET dog | 'The dog followed Igid.' |
| aken, endà duen t=um=ulù kenaken<br>I not there.is teach=FA=___ me | 'There is no one to teach me.' |
| si Mundi, eg=bayad=an ku sa utang ku<br>DET Mundi NR=pay=RF I DET debt my | 'Mundi, I'll pay up my debt to him.' |
| diyà kenagdi<br>to him | |

A structurally "external" substantive may stand within the sentence:

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk endà me=legà di, ludeng,<br>if not IFO=cook it taro | 'If the taro is not cooked, it will cause soreness of the throat.' |
| meke=lapa<br>IFA=throat.itch | |

Descriptive stative words may also contract a similar relationship with a substantive. The relationship between the substantive and the descriptive is not so tight as that existing between the two ICs of a noun-descriptive constitute in which the descriptive stands between the objectifying particle and the following noun head word.

| | |
|---|---|
| in=uwit di sa kelu di, amayan<br>PO=bring he DET bolo his large | 'He brought his bolo; it was big.' (He brought his big bolo.) |
| aken í emà di, Menubù<br>I DET father his Manobo | 'I am his Manobo father.' |

A similar form of complementary external relationship occurs with certain pronouns, most commonly the first-person plural pronouns of series 1 and 2. A speaker talking in the first-person plural may specify the other member covered by the pronoun, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk duwa ké, si Sida, mi=iyap a doo<br>if two we DET Sida IFO=like I | 'If there are two of us (Sida and I), I would like (to go).' |
| si etom, meke=ipanaw da dé<br>DET Tom IFA=travel they PRT | 'They have gone, Tom among them.' |

## 2. Sentence-Forming Equational Constructions

There is in Cotabato Manobo a construction that corresponds with what in other languages has been identified as an equational construction. In its simplest form an equational construction consists of two objectified immediate constituents (substantives), interdependently related to each other. There is usually a slight pause between the two nuclear ICs of equational utterances.

There is little difficulty in interpreting expressions that consist of two nuclear substantives. Likewise, those expressions in which one of the nuclear ICs is a series 5 possessive pronoun are also readily identifiable as equational expressions.

However, when one of the nuclear immediate constituents is a time or location expression, difficulty arises. If such an expression is interpreted as an open expression, the total construction is verbal. If the time or location expression is identified as an object expression, the construction is equational. (See secs. 2.3 and 2.4 for examples.)

### 2.1 Objectified expression ---> <--- objectified expression

| | |
|---|---|
| bébé di, aken<br>grandmother his I | 'I am his grandmother.' |
| si kuna, épé di<br>DET you master his | 'You are his master.' |
| iya ke=sabà, iya wé<br>that DRV=hold that DEM | 'That is the way to hold it.' |
| épé di tuyang, iya wé<br>master his dog that DEM | 'Who is the owner of this dog?' |
| kesalaan, ini i<br>fine this DEM | 'This is the fine (for the crime).' |
| ini, ke=dineg ku, um=ukit kenà i<br>this DRV=hear my FA=pass.thru place DET<br><br>Ubing<br>Ubing | 'This is what I heard; it will pass through Ubing's place.' |

### 2.2 Objectified Expression ---> <--- Series 5 Possessive Pronoun

| | |
|---|---|
| hagdi iya wé kudà<br>his that DEM horse | 'That is his horse.' |

naken ini i
mine this DEM
'This is mine.'

## 2.3 Equational constructions with time expression

lima agdaw ke=bayad ku sini kawal
five day DRV=pay I this shirt
'It will take me five days to pay for this shirt.'

pila gebulan sa ke=tebow duma ko dini
how.many month DET DRV=arrive friend you here
'How many months to the arrival of your friend here?'

## 2.4 Equational constructions with location expression

dahedò dalesan emà ku
there house father my
'There is the house of my father.'

Such words as dahedò 'there (at a distance)', dahiya, daya 'there (no particular distance)', and dahini, dini 'here' seem to function as objectified expressions in such contexts as the preceding. The roots of these words, edò, iya, and ini respectively, when used in typical stative verbal constructions are prefixed by ka- (possibly a variant of ke-). Examples:

kaini a 'I'm here.'
**kaedò é 'There it is.'
kaiya ke 'Here we are.'

However, the expressions dini and daya have been found as the nuclear open expression of verbal utterances.

daya da, Telaki i
there they Telaki DET
'There they were, Telaki among them.'

Simple time expressions have also been found functioning as nuclear open expressions.

sekepadiyan ka dutu kenà ko dò,
one.week you to place your LOC
'You had been gone one week on your way home when my mother died.'

ne=matay inay ku
IPO=die mother my

It may therefore be best to interpret all expressions with time or location indicators as a central immediate constituent, that is, as verbal expressions rather than as equational.

The subject substantive of equational constructions may precede or follow its complementary nuclear immediate constituent in the clause or sentence. If it is a pronoun, it is usually preceded by si in sentence-initial position. si does not seem to be used if the pronoun occurs sentence finally. The forms ini 'this' or iya 'that' may substitute in subject slot. If they occupy sentence- or clause-final position, they are usually followed by i or wé respectively, for example, ini i iya wé. The complementary nuclear immediate constituent often stands without an objectifying expression, but may sometimes be preceded by the objectifier iya.

iya used as an objectifier with either the subject or nonsubject IC may be expanded to iya wé.

## 2.5 Questions

Most questions are expressed in equational form. They may also be expressed as verbal constructions (sec. 1.3), but the equational form seems to be the most common.

Questions are introduced by nengan 'when', kenà 'where', ngadan 'what', enù 'how', maen 'why'.

| | |
|---|---|
| nengan ke=tulù ko kenami eg=sulat<br>when DRV=teach you us NA=write | 'When are you going to start teaching us to write?' (When is your teaching us to write?) |
| nengan ke=angay yu dutu sidò eg=linadu<br>when DRV=go you to that NA=sick | 'When are you going to the sick person?' |
| enù ke=kuwa ko uton<br>how DRV=get you fish | 'How do you catch fish?' (How is your catching fish?) |
| ngadan bael=an ko ya<br>what do=FR you PRT | 'What are you doing?' |
| agulé um=igsà, maen ko dini, guwaen i<br>then FA=ask reason you here said DET<br>kelupenit<br>small.bat | 'Then he asked, "Why are you here?" said the small bat.' |

ke- in the above expressions converts an open verbal expression into an objectified expression.

kenà ko dé — 'Where are you?'
place you PRT

This last sentence is particularly interesting. If it is regarded as a complete sentence consisting of two interdependently related nuclear immediate constituents, the primary break in the sentence is made between ko and dé. The structure can be indicated as follows:

kenà ko ---> <--- dé

The particle dé substitutes as a predicate item interdependently related to the other immediate constituent kenà ko. The break might, however, occur between kenà and ko:

kenà ---> <--- ko dé

Or, it might occur between kenà ko dé and a zero implied location:

+ ---> <--- kenà ko dé

The first interpretation is the most obvious. The occurrence of dé might suggest that kenà ko is an open expression and the whole sentence verbal rather than equational.

Equational constructions are also formed without such explicit question indicators as nengan, ngadan, etc. The following sentences are used with great frequency as a common form of greeting. They resemble the ngadan-type questions.

1. angay=an ko ya — 'Where are you going?'
   go=FR you PRT

2. kedu=wan ko ya — 'Where are you from?'
   from=FR you PRT

The next four sentences are clearly equational constructions. One of the nuclear objectified expressions in each case is the question indicator ngadan. In examples 3 and 5 the complementary nuclear IC is an objectified open expression in which the objectifying role of the suffix -an is reinforced by the objectifying postclitic particle ya. In example 4 the complementary IC is the pronominal expression iya wé. In example 6 iya wé functions as an objectifying lateral of the expression kiiyapan. Comparison of these examples with 1 and 2 shows that the postclitic ya is merely a displaced lateral objectifier.

3. ngadan bael=an ko ya — 'What are you doing
   what do=FR you PRT — (making)?'

| | |
|---|---|
| 4. ngadan iya wé<br>what that DEM | 'What is that?' |
| 5. ngadan ki=iyap=an ko ya<br>what DRV=want=RF you PRT | 'What do you want?' |
| 6. ngadan iya wé ki=iyap=an ko<br>what that DEM DRV=want=RF you | 'What do you want?' |

The role of ya in the first two of the preceding sentences is different. If they follow the pattern of the other sentences, two nuclear ICs must be identified. Several interpretations may be suggested. angayan ko ya and keduwan ko ya may be regarded as nuclear objectified expressions and the complementary IC a zero implied location, or perhaps the question intonation contour. It seems, however, that the primary break is between ya on the one hand and the rest of the sentence on the other. This would elevate ya to the status of a nuclear IC.

This parallels the interpretation of kenà ko dé in which a normally lateral item, dé, is elevated to nuclear status.

## 2.6 Verb <- verb constructions

Manner expansions equivalent to the English I ran quickly do not follow the expected pattern of verb <--- manner descriptive. The construction seems rather to be a double verbal form.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=téél a eg=pelaguy<br>ADJ=fast I NA=run | 'I run fast.' |
| me=lugay a eg=dineg bobtail<br>IFO=long I NA=hear bobtail | 'I have heard "bob-tail" for a long time now.' (Our house boy kept asking us what we meant by the word.) |
| endà iseg ki egpeke=tudug<br>not very we INA=sleep | 'We are not able to sleep so well.' |
| tibubu da pelà eg=kaen<br>still they still NA=eat | 'They are still eating.' |
| muna ulu di eg=hulu<br>first head he NA=climb.down | 'He climbs down head first.' |
| buyu a dé eg=tebow<br>almost I PRT NA=arrive | 'I have nearly arrived.' |

In verb <--- verb constructions, items which, by analogy with noun <--- descriptive constructions, one would expect to be lateral descriptive items function as the central open expression of the sentence, taking the series 1 subject pronouns as clitics.

Certain of these items, notably endà iseg (which always occurs as a compound expression, iseg never occurring alone), always substitute in what would appear to be major verb slot. Others sometimes follow the verb in what would appear to be a descriptive slot lateral to the verb.

| | |
|---|---|
| t=um=ebow ki, buyu<br>arrive=FA=___ we almost | 'We have almost arrived.' |
| l=um=agtì a takà<br>dodge=FA=___ I constantly | 'I kept on dodging around (to avoid him).' |

In such cases, however, there is a slight intonational pause between the final item and the rest of the sentence.

The verb <--- verb construction is also apparent in such an expression as:

| | |
|---|---|
| ini a pelà eg=tebow<br>this I just NA=arrive | 'I have just arrived.' |

The major open expression must be taken to be ini ... pelà since ini is never found occurring by itself in parallel constructions.

There is another such construction in which a stative verb normally used intransitively becomes the nuclear verb of a transitive construction.

| | |
|---|---|
| ne=lipeng a eg=uwit manuk<br>IPO=forget I NA=bring hen | 'I forgot to bring the hen.' |
| mi=iyap a eg=kuwa timus<br>IFO=want I NA=get salt | 'I want to get some salt.' |
| me=tiig ka dé eg=ikagi Menubù<br>IFO=know you PRT NA=speak Manobo | 'You know how to speak Manobo.' |
| amuk endà me=gaga ku duu m=itiyalà ...<br>if not IFO=able I NEG FA=dispute | 'if I am not able to dispute the matter' |

It is also common to find two eg- type verbs in the verb-verb relationship. The verb root angay occurs with a particularly high frequency as the first verb of such constructions.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=angay=en di eg=balbal sa anak di<br>NO=go=OF he NA=beat DET child his | 'He is going to beat his child.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| **m=angay t=um=igbokol dutu agdaw<br>FA=go lie.in.sun=FA=___ in sun | 'He is going to lie out in the sun.' |
| angay=en ta m=aa sa manuk<br>go=FO we FA=see DET hen | 'We are going to find the hen.' |

With few exceptions the second eg- verb takes the actor-subject affix series -um-.

Where the total construction is non-actor-subject the first verb takes the non-actor-subject inflection and the second takes <-um-> actor-subject inflection.

| | |
|---|---|
| in=angay ku eg=haa kuna<br>PO=go I NA=see you | 'I went to look for you.' |
| eg=teleseb=en di eg=buung siva manuk<br>NO=flush.out=OF he NA=throw the hen | 'He hurled a stone to flush out the hen.' |
| ig=pe=lengon ku eg=pe=kuwa keniko sa<br>PI=CA=all I NA=CA=get you DET<br><br>lebuk<br>bamboo | 'I got you to get all the bamboo for me.' |
| **legayday=en ké pelà t=um=elalag<br>complete=FO we just roof.cross=FA=___ | 'We will soon finish off laying the roofing cross pieces.' |

The object of the double verb combination most commonly follows the second verb, but it may stand between the two verbs.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=taka=an da kita eg=suntuk<br>NR=frequent=RF they us NA=strike | 'They (the Moros) frequently strike us.' |

Sentences have been recorded in which the first verb is stative and the second a non-actor-subject active verb. In most cases such constructions have been intransitive.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=tegas pelawà eg=hugut=en sa badung<br>ADJ=hard still NO=withdraw=OF DET bolo | 'The bolo is still a bit hard to withdraw (from the sheath).' |
| endà mi=iyap di eg=tulu=en, sa sawa ku<br>not IFO=want she NO=teach=OF DET wife my | 'My wife does not want to be taught.' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **me=ubus t=in=adtad, eg=dalem=en kuden | | 'When it has finished |
| IFO=finish cut.up=PO=___ NO=into=OF pot | | being cut up, it will |
| | | be put in the pot.' |

Multiple open expression constructions have been recorded, for example:

| | |
|---|---|
| endà iseg ka me=siyapat eg=sulat | 'You are not so fast |
| not very you ADJ=fast NA=write | at writing the Manobo |
| | language.' |
| kagi='t Menubù | |
| language=LIG Manobo | |

## 2.7 Double verb constructions with different actors

Verb <--- verb constructions with different actors occur, but they are infrequent.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=unung=unung=an ku kuna eg=sulat | 'I am watching you |
| NR=watch=watch=RF I you NA=write | write.' |

In many of the examples already cited the subordinate concept in the English becomes the nuclear concept in Manobo. The following are typical examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| meke=duwa a dé agdaw um=ugpà dini | 'I intend to stay |
| IFA=two I PRT day FA=stay here | here for two days.' |
| k=um=e=duwa batà l=um=esut | 'Two children come |
| FA=DRV=___=two child emerge=FA=___ | out.' (when there are twins) |
| duwa ké agdaw diyà sa dalan | 'We were two days on |
| two we day on DET road | the road.' |

## 2.8 Existential duen

duen 'there is .../he has ...' is a very commonly used nuclear open expression, which may, though only rarely, take the affixes mig- or -um-. It is characteristic of this expression that the associated nuclear substantive is never marked by a <sa> class objectifying particle. It may occasionally be marked by a reduced form of the objectifying particle ini:

| | |
|---|---|
| yak duen ini kawal amuk | 'There would not be |
| not there.is this shirt if | this shirt if....' |

All Philippine dialects seem to have an equivalent open expression characterized by the same feature.

| | |
|---|---|
| duen sawa ko<br>there.is wife your | 'Do you have a wife?' |
| duen pa kugit ko wé<br>there.is still matches your PRT | 'Do you still have any matches?' |
| endà dé duen di<br>not PRT there.is it | 'There is none.' |
| d=um=uen dema sulu ku<br>be=FA=___ again nail my | 'I'll get another nail again.' (He had lost his thumb nail.) |
| **mig=duen dema<br>PA=be again | 'He got it again.'<br>(a yaws infection) |
| pengagbet ka duen ' épé katilà<br>look.for you there.is ownwer swt.potato | 'See if there is anyone with sweet potato.' |
| duen niko ig=sugù kenaken, angay=en<br>there.is your PI=order me go=FO<br>ku<br>I | 'Is there anything you called me about, that you want me to get?' |

Expressions headed by duen very commonly substitute for simple substantives.

| | |
|---|---|
| endà duen in=uwit ku me=begat<br>not there.is PO=bring I ADJ=heavy | 'I brought nothing heavy.' |
| ini goh endà pa duen ig=begay di<br>this time not yet there.is PI=give he<br>kenak<br>me | 'Up to now he has given me nothing.' |
| amuk duen etaw t=um=igbas,<br>if there.is person slash=FA=___<br>me=bilanggu<br>IFO=imprison | 'If someone chops up (a person) he will be imprisoned.' |
| duen me=tiig eg=kuwa't ungéh<br>there.is IFO=know NA=get rat | 'There are those who know how to catch rats.' |

aken, endà duen t=um=ulù kenaken 'I have no one to
I not there.is teach=FA=___ me teach me.'

duen in=angay ku dahini 'There was something
there.is PO=go I there I came to get here.'

3. Negation

There are three negative expressions in Cotabato Manobo: endà, yak, and beken. A possible fourth is yaka, which may be related to yak.

beken is used as a negative of substantives.

amuk beken kuna ... 'If it had not been
if not you for you ...'

amuk dakel, beken duu langus 'If it is large, it is
if big not NEG praying.mantis not a praying mantis.'

beken m=iling sak si Polok lobing 'Not one like Polok's
not FA=like the DET Polok dress dress.'

endà is a negative of verbal expressions. In the great majority of sentences endà immediately precedes the verb.

endà mi=iyap a eg=ugpà diyà keniko 'I do not want to
not IFO=want I NA=stay with you stay with you.'

amuk endà umow=en yu duu aken ... 'If you do not call
if not call=FO you NEG me me ...'

endà meke=layang di ka pulung tukéey 'It cannot fly
not IFA=fly it as very little because it is very
small.'

endà sometimes functions as a close attribute of the open verbal expression. In such cases it precedes the verb and is followed by the <dé> particle, which normally follows the open expression. It is not followed by the pronouns clitic to the verb. This is particularly common with the open expression duen 'there is'.

endà dé duen di 'There is none.'
not PRT there.is it

endà dé g=um=emow ké simag 'We will not come
not PRT come.up=FA=___ we tomorrow upstairs tomorrow.'

ini goh endà pa duen ig=begay di 'Up to now he has
this time not yet there.is PI=give he given me nothing.'

kenak
me

**endà pa inemen=an ko duu 'You have not yet
not yet drink=RF you NEG drunk from it.'

endà is distinguished from all other verb attributes by the unusual deviation from the norm when the subject of the verb expression is the third person singular pronoun. In all other constructions this pronoun is a zero feature. With endà the third person singular form di of series 2 nonsubject pronouns is substituted immediately following the nuclear open expression.

endà pa iseg di me=doo neke=sunggud 'Not so very many
not yet very it ADJ=many IPI=bride.price bride price items were handed over.'

endà egpeke=hilu di, bugan 'Bugan is not
not INA=poison it bugan poisonous.'

endà dé duen di 'There is none.'
not PRT there.is it

anì endà me=utuh=an di '... so that it will
so.that not IFR=stamp=RF it not be stamped on.'

simag endà pa t=um=udak di katilà 'He will not plant
tomorrow not yet plant=FA=___ he s.potato sweet potato tomorrow.'

yak is used as a strong negative of verbal expressions. It occupies a position immediately preceding the verb.

amuk endà umow=en yu duu aken, yak 'If you do not call
if not call=FO you NEG me not me, I will not come here.'

um=angay a dini
FA=go I here

yak duen ini kawal amuk beken kedu 'I would have no
not there.is this shirt if not from shirt but for you.'

keniko
you

yak k=um=e=lani kunul ko ya, amuk 'Your skin would not
not DRV=FA=___=smooth skin your DET if be smooth if you had
skin disease.'

duen bugis
there.is skin.disease

yak t=um=udug sa batà ... 'The child will not
not sleep=FA=___ DET child sleep (because of its
bad fever).'

In at least two of the preceding examples yak functions as a conditional negative.

yak has mostly been found with actor-subject constructions. It has been found once with a non-actor-subject construction:

yak l=in=enga=an i Papi sa usa 'Puppy would not
not release=PR=___=RF DET Puppy DET animal release his hold on
the animal.'

ig=hemued
PI=bite

yaka is often used in isolation as a general negative command, "Don't do it." Also it is often used, in cases of real urgency, in a rapidly repeated expansion, yaka yaka yaka.

With negative commands the full form is typically as follows:

yaka eg=enaw kenak 'Don't wake me up.'
not NA=wake me

yaka pa eg=angay ya dini simag 'Don't come here
not yet NA=go NEG here tomorrow tomorrow.'

In normal speech, however, there is the usual elision between the two contiguous vowels resulting in the following form:

yaka eg-enaw kenak ---> yagenaw kenak

A clitic {ya} is frequently postposed to the verbs of negative commands.

yag=daya ya 'Don't stand there.'
not=there NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| yag=angay ya dutu<br>not=go NEG there | 'Don't go there.' |
| yag=gemen na<br>not=laugh NEG | 'Stop laughing.'<br>(Don't laugh.) |
| yag=sinegaw wa<br>not=cry NEG | 'Don't cry.' |

On the basis of a rather limited number of examples it would seem that negations of goal-focus commands are indicated by the negative form yoko. If this is so, it is almost certain that yaka and yoko may be broken down into two units with vowel harmony between the vowel of the negative morpheme ya- and the vowel of the particular pronoun used, ka actor-subject or ko goal-subject.[7]

## 4. Non-Sentence-Forming Constructions

### 4.1 Attribution of Nouns

Constitutes consisting of noun head words with lateral attributes that are open expressions are not very common.

There are two principal forms of attribution. In the first the descriptive (usually a me- expression but occasionally a free root such as dakel 'big') precedes the noun. If there is an associated objectifying particle, the descriptive occurs between it and the noun.

| | |
|---|---|
| um=angay da dé dutu sidò me=diyù<br>FA=go they PRT to that ADJ=distant | 'They are going to a distant place.' |
| tanà<br>land | |

There is no contrast between me- and ne- open expressions in this slot. Only me- expressions may function as descriptives of nouns.

A few words, notably langun 'all', may precede the objectifying particle, though it may also substitute in the same slot as me- expressions.

| | |
|---|---|
| langun sini sugudsugud ne=sangkap wayeg<br>all these plains IPO=inundate water | 'All these plains were inundated with water.' |

In the second type of noun attribution, the open expression follows the noun and is separated from it by a slight pause.

| | |
|---|---|
| k=um=uwa a tamuk, lima<br>get=FA=___ I items five | 'I will get five trade items.' |
| in=uwit di sa kelu di, amayan<br>PO=bring he DET bolo his large | 'He brought his large bolo.' |

Noun expressions attributive to other nouns (other than possessive nouns) may occasionally substitute in the same slot as me- type attributes.

| | |
|---|---|
| apiya me=bau sak diyà béléng ko<br>even IFO=healed the on cheek your | 'Even if the yaws on your cheeks is healed, come here tomorrow.' |
| katel m=angay ka doo dahini simag<br>yaws FA=go you here tomorrow | |

## 4.2 Possession

### 4.2.1 Pronominal possession

Pronominal possession may be indicated by either of two sets of pronouns. The most commonly used set has already been identified as series 2 <ku> pronouns lateral to verbs in non-actor-subject constructions. This clitic pronoun series always immediately follows its substantive head word.

| | |
|---|---|
| bébé di aken<br>grandmother his I | 'I am his grandmother.' |
| me=sakit ulu ku<br>IFO=pain head my | 'My head hurts.' |
| iya kenà pedu ko ya, si Mama<br>that place gallbladder your DET DET Mama | 'Mama is the one to keep guard over you.' |
| sebaen daa emà da<br>one only father their | 'They have the one father.' |
| eg=hemued=en ki kilat ka duma ta<br>NO=bite=OF we lightning as relatives our | 'We would be struck by lightning since they are our relatives.' (if we committed incest) |

Possession may also be indicated by a series of possessive pronouns referred to as series 5 <naken> pronouns.

SERIES 5 PRONOUNS <naken>

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1st person | naken | nita (incl); nami (excl) |
| 2nd person | niko | niyu |
| 3rd person | hagdi | hagda |

These pronouns are free roots and occur most commonly with substantives of equational or stative verbal constructions. The possessed IC generally follows the open expression or nonpossessed complementary IC.

| | |
|---|---|
| labi sak naken ke=sakit<br>half the my DRV=pain | 'It only hurts half as much as my pain.' |
| me=diyù niko dalesan<br>ADJ=distant your house | 'Your house is a long way off.' |
| me=doo naken eg=bael=an<br>ADJ=many my NR=make=RF | 'I have made many things.' |
| Bagobo, hagdi sawa<br>Bagobo his wife | 'His wife is a Bagobo.' |
| me=diyù hagda in=angay=an<br>ADJ=distant their PR=go=RF | 'They went to a distant place.' |

The series 5 pronoun invariably precedes the head noun. In most constructions of the above type the possessed expression is not marked by a sa objectifying particle. Examples have been recorded in which the objectifying particle iya or the particle i stands between the possessive pronoun and its head word.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=diyù naken i kedu=wan<br>ADJ=distant my PRT from=FR | 'I come from a distant place.' |
| angay=en ta nami iya tebay<br>go=FO we our that sister | 'We will go and get our sister (if the bride price is not paid).' |
| me=pion hagdi iya ke=kaen<br>ADJ=good his that DRV=eat | 'It (rabbit) makes good eating.' |
| niko iya kenà, ostelaliya<br>your that place Australia | 'Australia is your country.' |

4.2.2 Noun possession

Possession of one noun by another is indicated by juxtaposition of the two nouns, the nuclear noun taking first position. Where the lateral possessing noun is a person, the relationship is further indicated by the particle i between the two nouns.

| | |
|---|---|
| t=in=ebek di sa inay i Limbey<br>inject=PO=___ she DET mother of Limbey | 'She injected Limbey's mother.' |

When both are nonperson substantives and the final syllable of the first noun is open, the particle t occurs as a clitic to this noun.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| balu't ulu<br>hair head | 'hair of head' | balu 'hair' |
| kutu't miyong<br>flea cat | 'fleas of the cat' | kutu 'flea' |

The clitic t following a consonant has been observed only once. In this case, it was following l in the expression epol t belad 'tattoo of the arm'. The t is, however, often omitted with this expression.

There is an interesting possessive construction in which personal possession is indicated in a manner very similar to the series 5 pronoun possession. The possessing person occurs between the objectifying particle and the nuclear possessed substantive and takes the personal objectifying particle si:

| | |
|---|---|
| beken m=iling sak si Polok lobing<br>not FA=like the DET Polok dress | 'Not one like Polok's dress.' |

4.2.3 Ligature t

The ligature t is very commonly used between a verb expression (consisting of a verb and a series 1 and 2 pronoun) and a following substantive. Since all series 1 and 2 pronouns are single open syllables, the use of the ligature in this slot parallels its occurrence in noun possession. The phonemic-syntactic conditioning factors can be formulated as follows:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | | noun...CV | t | noun |
| B | verb expression...CV | | t | noun |

The final noun of both constructions is never marked by a sa objectifying particle or any other class of objectifying particle.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=bael a='t owong<br>NA=make I=LIG canoe | 'I am making a canoe.' |
| **p=in=enù ku='t wayeg<br>fill=PO=___ I=LIG water | 'I have filled it with water.' |
| t=um=epì a='t kayu<br>split=FA=___ I=LIG wood | 'I will split the wood down the middle.' |
| ... danà di eg=haa='t legleg<br>by he NA=see=LIG light | '... from his seeing the light (of the fire).' |

m=aluk a='t dalesan ku dò — 'I will rush to my
FA=rush I=LIG house my LOC — house.'

t may also occur as a ligature following verb expressions closed by a <dé> particle the members of which are also vowel final.

eg=angay da pa='t Melatunol dò — 'They are going to
NA=go they still=LIG Melatunol LOC — Melatunol.'

Noun subordination seems to be the feature common to both uses of the ligature. In A the noun is subordinate to another noun. In B it is subordinate to a nuclear verb.

## 4.3 Subject markers [glossed as DET in the examples]

### 4.3.1 sa

Most subject expressions when marked take an objectifying <sa> class particle. But since members of this class may optionally mark nonsubject item, position rather than objectifier usually indicates the subject.

### 4.3.2 i

Postclitic particles may mark subject expressions. One of the most common is the particle i, a rather versatile item indicating in other constructions person, possession, etc. This particle is postposed to the subject of a+ or a keniko verbal constructions or equational constructions.

m=ipanaw dé kenogon i — 'The maiden went off.'
FA=walk PRT maiden DET

aken i emà di, Menubù — 'I am his Manobo
I DET father his Manobo — father.'

kuna i Kunsiyal Kulaman — 'You are Councillor
you DET Councillor Kulaman — from Kulaman.'

eg=lenebleneb kemel ta i — 'Our hands are
NA=smear fingers our DET — covered with grease.'

ne=ubus a dé, aken i — 'I have finished.'
IPO=finish I PRT I DET

agulé t=um=ebow dé busaw i dutu — 'Then the spirit
then arrive=FA=___ PRT spirit DET at — arrived at the house.'

sidò dalesan
that house

### 4.3.3 i duu

The particle i (sec. 4.3.2) may be involved in the compound clitic expression i duu, which seems in general to substitute for an objectifying particle. (See sec. 4.5 on sentence particles.)

| | |
|---|---|
| i=pe=bulung ku pelà palì ku i duu<br>NI=CA=medicine I just wound my DET PRT | 'I am just going to have my injury treated.' |

### 4.3.4 ya

A particle of the allomorphic series {ya} is often postposed to a subject noun or person equational construction (a+ or ku kuna constructions). The allomorph ya follows expressions ending in a vowel. Substantives ending in closed syllables take a particle whose first consonant reduplicates the final consonant of the substantive. (This form of clitic occurs with all constructions.)

| | |
|---|---|
| h=in=aa ku Papi ya gina<br>see=PO=___ I Puppy DET recently | 'I saw Puppy a while ago.' |
| h=in=emegaw=an i Labu Mison na<br>warn.off=PR=___=RF DET Labu Mison DET | 'Mison was warned off by Labu.' |
| duen ma busaw wa daya, bayi<br>there.is also spirit DET there woman | 'There is a female spirit there.' |
| ngadan tanà ya kenà di eg=lesut<br>what land DET place he NA=emerge | 'In what land was he born?' |
| eg=sinegaw batà ya<br>NA=cry child DET | 'The child is crying. |

A similar clitic is used with verbs in commands, presumably to imply particular emphasis:

| | |
|---|---|
| yaggemen na | 'Don't laugh.' |
| yagsinegaw wa | 'Don't cry.' |
| yagdaya ya | 'Don't stand there.' |
| yaka pa eg=angay ya dini simag<br>not yet NA=go PRT here tomorrow | 'Don't come here tomorrow.' |

## 4.4 Nonsubject markers

Some nonsubject substantives may be marked by {ya} particles in the same way as subject nouns. (These particles never occur with subject substantives in preverb position, only with substantives in postverb position.) The conditions under which nonsubject items may be marked are so far quite unpredictable as seen from the following:

kuwa a lepò ya — 'I will get coconuts.'
get I coconut DET

elê 'kunai grass' may substitute for lepò in this construction, but walingwaling 'very valuable orchid', batà 'child', kayu 'wood', manuk 'chicken' may not. These words cannot be marked by such a particle in the context kumuwa a.... But one of these words, manuk, may be so marked though it is not the subject:

uwiti ko aken manuk ka — 'Bring me a chicken.'
bring you me chicken PRT

Whether or not a particular word may be so marked seems to depend on the verb root used and the verb construction. (There is no evidence for the existence of noun classes.)

Similar marking of nonsubject items is seen in the following constructions:

bayad=an a='t manuk ka — 'Pay me with a hen.'
pay=FR me=LIG hen DET

egke=bekol a='t agdaw wa — 'I have been dried
INO=dry.out I=LIG sun DET — out by the sun.'

In such cases the nonsubject item may receive additional emphasis by its association with the {ya} clitic.

## 4.5 Sentence particles

### 4.5.1 duu and doo

No definite meaning can be assigned to either of the particles duu or doo, which are two among many similar sentence particles. They do not seem to relate to any one immediate constituent of the sentence in which they occur but rather to the sentence as a whole. They are treated apart from other particles since they represent a clear contrast in function, the former associating with negative sentences, the latter with positive sentences.

duu is more frequent in its occurrence than doo. They indicate a particular emphasis on the negative and positive aspect of the sentence respectively. They may occur in reduced form: du and dé do respectively.

duu occurs with a wide range of sentence types and takes a position immediately following the verb or the series 2 agent pronoun should one be present.

With beken 'not':

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk dakel, beken duu langus | 'If it is large, it is |
| if big not NEG praying.mantis | not a praying mantis.' |

With yaka 'don't' in commands:

| | |
|---|---|
| yag=pe=bagel duu | 'Don't tense up.' |
| not=CA=strong NEG | (Don't tense your muscles.) |
| yag=selepan duu wé | 'Don't play about.' |
| not=play NEG PRT | |

With endà 'not':

| | |
|---|---|
| **endà eg=hau=wen ku duu | 'I can't find him.' |
| not NO=see=OF I NEG | |
| **amuk endà i=begay da duu diyà kenami ... | 'If they do not give |
| if not NI=give they NEG to us | (our sister) to us' |

With inday 'to not know':

| | |
|---|---|
| inday ta duu ne=matay dé iya | 'We don't know |
| not.know we NEG IPO=dead PRT that | whether our young brother is dead.' |
| egoh di, Hadi ya | |
| appearance his young.brother DET | |

duu has not yet been found with negative actor-subject constructions.

doo associates with positive statements and follows the nuclear open expression:

| | |
|---|---|
| ... um=angay ka doo dini simag | '... you will come |
| FA=go you indeed here tomorrow | here tomorrow.' |
| **egke=bekad ku doo | 'It yields to me.' |
| INO=open I indeed | (I opened it.) |

| | |
|---|---|
| **uwit=en da doo<br>take=FO they indeed | 'They will take.'<br>(in reply to: 'Will they take the dog with them?') |
| m=iling doo apus, tamelang<br>FA=like indeed apus tamelang | 'Tamelang is like the apus bamboo species.' |
| palan doo tamuk<br>all indeed trade.items | 'They are all trade items.' |
| duen doo<br>there.is indeed | 'There is.' (reply to: 'Is there any salt?') |
| egpeke=tudug doo Isot ta<br>INA=sleep indeed Isot DET | 'Isot is able to sleep all right.' |
| dutu doo, dalesan ku<br>there indeed house my | 'My house is over there.' (in reply to: 'Where is your house?') |

doo followed by the particle gaa ('relayed speech') reduces to do as in duen do gaa 'There is, she says'.

### 4.5.2 duu with positive constructions

duu preceded by another clitic i commonly enters into positive constructions in which the combination i duu seems to substitute for an objectifying particle of class <sa> or for the postclitic objectifying particle (ya).

| | |
|---|---|
| angay=an ko (or koya) i duu<br>go=FR you PRT PRT | 'Where are you going?' |
| kenà kawal ko i duu<br>place shirt your PRT PRT | 'Where is your shirt?' |
| katilà i duu<br>swt.potato PRT PRT | 'Sweet potato.'<br>(in reply to: 'What does it eat?') |
| geléh ko pa diyà kenak palay ku i duu<br>pound you PRT for me rice my PRT PRT | 'Pound my rice for me, will you?' |
| i=pe=bulung ku pelà palì ku i duu<br>NI=CA=medicine I still wound my PRT PRT | 'I am about to get my wound medicined.' |
| niko ini duu<br>your this PRT | 'This is yours.' |

duu has also been found in unusual equational constructions in which it is hard to differentiate two nuclear ICs.

| | |
|---|---|
| kelu ko ya duu<br>bolo your PRT PRT | 'Where is your bolo?'<br>(May I have your bolo?) |
| niko kelu ya duu<br>your bolo PRT PRT | 'Where is your bolo?'<br>(Let me have it for a while?) |

These constructions are questions and parallel the angayan ko ya questions dealt with under equational constructions (sec. 2.5).

In the foregoing sentences duu is probably best interpreted as a predicate item probably in association with the particle ya. Ya may be regarded as pronominal in this context, rather than an objectifying particle.

duu is also found in other minimal sentence constructions with only a single nuclear open expression:

langun dé duu 'They are all (his).' (In reply to 'Are they all his?')
all PRT PRT

There is an interesting parallel between duu and endà. It is common for someone replying to a question to open his reply with the negative particle endà.

| | |
|---|---|
| Q. maen ko dini, guwaen i Kelupenit<br>reason your here, said DET little.bat | '"Why are you here?" said the little bat.' |
| R. endà, guwaen i Kenogon, in=uwit a<br>no said DET maiden PO=bring I<br><br>mangan etaw<br>spirit being | '"No," said the maiden, "I was brought by an evil spirit."' |
| Q. ngadan angay=an sini selagi<br>what go=FR this drum | 'Where is this drum going to?' |
| R. endà, i=sunggud ku sawa ku<br>no PI=bride.price I wife my | 'I am giving it as bride price for my wife.' |

In such cases endà, used elsewhere as a negative, is purely a sentence-opening particle. It may be that sentence-final duu, used in such questions as the following, acts similarly to a sentence-closing particle, though elsewhere it has a negative connotation.

| | |
|---|---|
| angayan ko i duu<br>go you PRT PRT | 'Where are you going?' |

### 4.5.3 wé Particle

Like duu and doo the particle wé functions as a clitic, related to the sentence as a whole rather than to any one immediate constituent. It may indicate particular emphasis. In all examples recorded it occurred sentence finally, taking priority over duu, dé, and pa for this position.

| | |
|---|---|
| yagselapan du wé | 'Don't play about!' |
| angayan yu wé | 'Where are you going?' |
| météél ka dé wé | 'Hurry up!' |
| angayan ko dé wé | 'Where are you going?' |
| hiyupi ko wé | 'Blow up (the fire)!' |
| duen pa kugit ko wé | 'Have you any matches?' |
| there.is PRT matches your PRT | |

wé has been found only in command and question constructions.

The objectifying particles siya and iya are often found in the expanded form siya wé and iya wé. No particular meaning can be assigned to wé in either of these cases. It may indicate particular emphasis of the following objectified expression. It is not known whether there is any correlation between this wé and the sentence-final wé already dealt with. (The objectifying particle sidò may expand in a slightly similar fashion to sidòé.)

### 4.5.4 Distribution of Sentence Particles[8]

#### 4.5.4.1 Group 1: dé and pa

dé and pa are mutually exclusive in their distribution and must be classed together. They occur with a wide range of constructions: actor-subject and non-actor-subject, negative and positive.

#### 4.5.4.2 Group 2: duu and doo

duu and doo are mutually exclusive in their distribution. duu associates for the most part with negative constructions. doo associates with positive constructions. They are rather restricted in their distribution and occur immediately following the central open expression of the utterance or the nuclear substantive of the utterance if there is no open expression. The same is true of group 1 (sec. 4.5.4.1). Group 1 may, however, occur following endà in preverb position; group 2 is never found in this position.

There have been only two recorded utterances in which a member of both groups have occurred together.

| | |
|---|---|
| **langun dé duu | 'They are all his.' |
| all PRT PRT | (reply to: 'Are they all his cattle?') |

| | |
|---|---|
| **endà dé egke=tuleng=an ta duu enù ka<br>not PRT INR=recall=RF we NEG as RP | 'We cannot recall it, because we have forgotten.' |
| ne=lipeng ké<br>IPO=forget we | |

4.5.4.3 Group 3: pelà and endà

pelà is less restricted in its distribution than groups 1 and 2 and may occur elsewhere than immediately following the central open expression or endà though it occurs most commonly in these positions. It has never been found with pa (to which it seems to be semantically related), but has been found with dé.

| | |
|---|---|
| m=ikù ki dé pelà<br>FA=return we PRT still | 'Let's go home now.' |
| endà pelawà duen sawa di<br>not yet there.is spouse his | 'He has no wife yet.' |

pelà is commonly associated with iya and ini in compound expressions indicating immediacy:

| | |
|---|---|
| ini a pelà egtebow | 'I have just arrived here.' |
| **iya pelà igtebow dini | 'He has just arrived here.' |
| ini a pelà egdineg | 'I have just heard (the news).' |
| **iya pelà umangay dini | 'She'll come here soon.' |

4.5.4.4 Group 4: wé

wé may occur with members of groups 1 and 2. The expanded form pelawà may be the result of the combination pelàwé followed by vowel harmony. Neither pelà nor pelawà has ever been found in combination with wé.

4.5.5 Speech Particles gaa and guwaen di

Speech relayed from a speaker to a hearer by yet another person is always closed by the particle gaa. Speech so relayed may be command, statement, or question. gaa 'relayed speech particle' and is used only when the original message is immediately relayed.

| | |
|---|---|
| **duen dé gaa<br>there.is PRT reportedly | 'There is, she says.' |
| **me=sakit pa gaa<br>ADJ=ache still reportedly | 'Does it hurt, she says.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| angay ka pa dini gaa<br>go you still here reportedly | 'Come here, she says.' |

Speech reported some time after the event is indicated by the verbal expressions guwaen di 'he/she says'. This expression may be defined as reported speech indicator. It is interpolated with a very high frequency in reported speech, unlike gaa which is used only utterance finally, usually with very short utterances. guwaen di may be interpolated several times within the one sentence. (It is of value in defining word boundaries in the language.)

It has been impossible to record free conversation owing to the length of utterances and the speed of articulation. But from general observation it seems that guwaen di may be interpolated between any of the major ICs of a sentence (but not within a verbal expression). In dictated story text material, usage of the expression is greatly reduced. It precedes or follows the speech. Occasionally it occurs within the speech when it is preceded by the sentence-opening expression endà or some similar expression.

| | |
|---|---|
| agulé um=igsà, maen ko dini, guwaen<br>then FA=ask reason your here said<br><br>i kelupenit<br>DET small.bat | 'Then the small bat asked, "Why are you here?"' |
| endà, guwaen i Kenogon, in=uwit a<br>no said DET maiden PO=bring I<br><br>mangan etaw<br>spirit being | '"Oh," said the maiden, "I have been brought (here) by an evil spirit."' |

### 4.5.6 Sentence-Final Particle i

Questions are commonly formed by the closing of a statement-type construction with the particle i (sometimes expanded to hih or hai depending on dialectical differences). The particle seems, however, to indicate more commonly a rhetorical query or deference on the part of the speaker.

| | |
|---|---|
| l=um=ikù a dé i<br>go.home=FA=___ I PRT PRT | 'Well, I'll be going now.' |
| **hated=i ko kani i<br>take=IMP you soon PRT | 'Take it soon! won't you?' (deferential command) |
| k=um=aen ki dé i<br>eat=FO=___ we PRT PRT | 'Well, let's eat now, will we?' |

## 4.6 Expansions of Sentence

### 4.6.1 Time

Apart from the rather elusive time indication of the verbal affixes time may be more explicitly indicated by separate expressions. These expressions may be single words, phrases, or clauses.

Time Words

| | |
|---|---|
| h=in=aa ku Papi ya gina<br>see=PO=___ I Puppy DET recently | 'I saw Puppy a while ago.' |
| ne=baluy dema etaw sa bekesan gina<br>IPO=become again man DET shark soon | 'The shark soon became a man again.' |
| agulé um=enaw simag siya wé busaw<br>then FA=get.up tomorrow that DEM spirit | 'That spirit got up next day.' |
| angay ka dini simag<br>go you here tomorrow | 'Come here tomorrow.' |
| agulé um=enaw da dé simag<br>then FA=get.up they PRT tomorrow | 'Then they got up next day.' |
| um=enaw sigep sa ludeng<br>FA=get.up night DET taro | 'Then the taro arose at night.' |
| um=enaw simag sa maama sa bayi<br>FA=get.up tomorrow DET man DET woman | 'The brother of the girl got up next morning.' |
| **mapun dé, tapay doo eg=tudug<br>evening PRT still PRT NA=sleep | 'By evening he was still sleeping.' |
| agulé tapay doo eg=ipanaw sa busaw<br>then still PRT NA=walk DET spirit | 'The spirit was still walking.' |
| agulé iya pelà uka=an da sa pintu<br>then that just open=FR they DET door | 'They had just opened the door.' |
| **i=begay ku dé kani diyà keniko<br>NI=give I PRT soon to you | 'I will give it to you shortly.' |
| senga hau=wen da kami ...<br>whenever see=FO they us | 'Whenever they see us' |
| agulé s=um=igep, tapay doo sa bayi<br>then night=FA=___ still PRT DET girl<br>eg=sinegaw<br>NA=cry | 'Night came on. Still the girl cried.' |

Single-word time indicators, which can presumably be assigned to descriptive class, may occur sentence initially, sentence finally, or following the verb expression sentence medially. There seem to be subclasses of descriptive time indicators. tapay doo generally precedes the verb. sigep, simag, and allied expressions (dema 'again', igkani 'a brief time', etc.) tend to follow immediately after the verb expression. gina tends to take sentence-final position.

Time Phrases

Time phrases are generally introduced by egoh 'time/appearance':

egoh sigep 'at night, last night'
egoh anay 'in the beginning, a long time ago'
gona agdaw 'yesterday'

danà di eg-udan egoh sigep — 'as a result of its raining last night'
by it rain time night

egoh duwa gepadian — 'two weeks ago'
time two week

Time Clauses

Time clauses are usually introduced by egoh:

egoh hau=wen da si Luminawlaw, — 'When they saw Luminawlaw, he was stretched out on his stomach.'
time see=PO they DET Luminawlaw

eg=olul
NA=stretch

4.6.2 Location

Location may be indicated by single words or phrases.

Location Words

dahedò ---> dadò — 'over there, some distance away'
dahini ---> déyni ---> dini — 'here'
dahiya ---> daya — 'there (not specific)'
dalem — 'inside'
dutu — 'there'

The objectifying expressions siya and sidò are sometimes used to indicate location:

agulé t=um=ebow da dé sidò é — 'Then they arrived there.'
then arrive=FA=___ they PRT there PRT

The foregoing location indicators follow the verb expression. They take priority over single-word time indicators for position immediately following the verb expression.

| | |
|---|---|
| m=angay a dini simag<br>FA=go I here tomorrow | 'I'll come here tomorrow.' |
| m=angay ki dutu simag<br>FA=go we there tomorrow | 'We'll go there tomorrow.' |
| angay ka dalem<br>go you inside | 'Come inside.' |

Location Phrases

| | |
|---|---|
| tukéey kenogon m=angay m=egeso dutu<br>little maiden FA=go FA=fish to<br>sidò lawe='t wayeg<br>that body=LIG water | 'The little maiden went fishing to the river.' |
| hau=wen di sa utan diyà siya wé<br>see=FO she DET utan on that DEM<br>pulu='t tued<br>top=LIG stump | 'She saw the utan on the top of a stump.' |
| ne=kelid kenogon i dutu sidò ilis<br>IPO=roll maiden DET to that brink<br>wayeg<br>river | 'She rolled into the brink of the river.' |
| agulé t=um=ebow dé dutu sidò kenogon<br>then arrive=FA=___ PRT at that maiden | 'Then he reached the maiden.' |
| agulé t=um=ebow dé siya kenogon dò<br>then arrive=FA=___ PRT that maiden LOC | 'Then he reached the maiden.' |
| t=um=enà dé tanà<br>go=FA=___ PRT ground | 'He went down to the ground.' |
| agulé ne=nabu sa busaw dutu sidò<br>then IPO=fall DET spirit to that | 'Then the spirit fell to the bottom of the waterfall.' |

esudan sagpaw
bottom waterfall

agulé t=um=ebow dé busaw i dutu 'Then the spirit
then arrive=FA=___ PRT spirit DET at arrived at the house.'

sidò dalesan
that house

**um=ukit dé dalem kayukayu 'He went through the
FA=pass.thru PRT inside forest forest.'

Dutu with few exceptions requires sidò as the objectifying expression of the following substantive. Since sidò elsewhere means something at a distance, dutu must indicate movement towards something at a distance. This seems to be borne out by the foregoing examples.

Diyà is rarely followed by sidò but is commonly followed by the objectifier sa. Diyà is essentially stationary in its connotation. This confirms the fact that siya and its reduced form sa are simple objectifiers, unlike sidò and sini, which are used when distance is relevant. This would account for the much greater frequency of sa over the other two objectifiers.

There are interesting abbreviations and expansions of the noun phrases associated with dutu and diya. Postclitic particle dò (not to be confused with the sentence particle) often associates with the noun head word of a dutu phrase, for example:

mangay a dutu kenà ku dò 'I am going to my
go I there place my LOC place.'

Dutu is commonly dropped when this particle is used:

**agulé tumebow dé siya kenogon dò 'Then they reached the
then arrive PRT that maiden LOC maiden.'

dò is not used together with the objectifier sidò. The dò of sidò is presumably the same morpheme as the clitic dò.

m=angay da sidò lawì da 'They go to their
FA=go they that lean.to theirs lean-to.'

When the noun head word takes a lateral possessive class 5 pronoun, dò commonly stands between the possessive and its head word:

**eg=likù dé hagdi dò kenà 'Then he went off to
NA=return PRT his LOC place his place.'

The combination diyà sa commonly alternates with da siya, but the combination diyà siya is rare. There is a tendency to neutralise the homophony of the two words.

Although dutu and diyà are frequently used, location may be indicated by a noun or noun phrase without an overt valence.

| | |
|---|---|
| m=angay a pa kenà i okon<br>FA=go I PRT place DET maiden | 'I will go to the house of the young girl.' |
| agulé d=in=alem i kenogon sa biahan sa<br>then put=PO=___ DET maiden DET basket DET<br><br>tugbung<br>shoot | 'Then the maiden put the shoot in the basket.' |

Other Location Indicators

There are several location words which never occur with an objectifying particle in indicating location, but always occur with dutu or dò or the combination dutu dò.

dagel 'upcountry, upstream'
dibaba 'downcountry, downstream'
dibaluy 'the other side'

atas also probably belongs to this subclass, the expression daatas 'upstairs' (sometimes heard as diatas) probably being an abbreviation of diya atas.

Compound location indicators include the following expressions:

leket-tanà 'underneath'
leket-atas 'on top, above'
mepokò tanà 'down low, close to the earth'

| | |
|---|---|
| m=angay a dutu dagel<br>FA=go I to upcountry | 'I am going upcountry.' |
| m=angay a dibaba dò<br>FA=go I downcountry LOC | 'I am going downcountry.' |
| endà me=tuu di, ka ig=tagù<br>not IFO=trample it as PI=place<br><br>leket-tanà<br>underneath | 'It will not be trampled on as it has been placed underneath.' |

4.6.3 Complex phrases and clauses indicating time, location, and cause

Time and location may be indicated by a subordinate-clause-like expressions. The expressions egoh and kenà respectively stand at the head of these clauses.

| | |
|---|---|
| m=angay a dutu kenà ku eg=tudug | 'I am going to the |
| FA=go I to place I NA=sleep | bedroom (where I |
| | sleep).' |

Since the expression headed by kenà invariably substitutes for a simple substantive, it may be better to regard it as a noun phrase with kenà the head word, which the verb expression is dependent on. This seems to be supported by the postposing of a class 2 <ku> pronoun to kenà. This pronoun class indicates possession of substantives (and other functions).

Time clauses introduced by egoh are open to a similar choice of interpretations since internally they follow the pattern of kenà expressions though they usually substitute for simple time descriptive class words rather than substantives.

| | |
|---|---|
| k=um=aen da dema, egoh da eg=beli | 'They will eat again |
| eat=PA=___ they again time they NA=buy | when they buy fish.' |
| uton | |
| fish | |

An egoh expression substitutes in the substantive position in the following sentence, but the time element seems to be a subordinate feature.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=tiig ka eg=atuatu siya egoh di | 'You know how to |
| IFO=know you NA=judge that time it | judge when it is |
| | full.' |
| egke=penù | |
| INO=full | |

The time element is more definite in the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| endà ne=sugat di, sa ke=bael, egoh muna | 'It was not right |
| not IPO=right it DET DRV=make time first | when it was first |
| | made.' |
| b=in=ael=an | |
| make=PR=___=RF | |

Cause may be indicated by similar constructions introduced by danà 'by':

| | |
|---|---|
| ne=daig ka, danà ko eg=sabà apuy | 'You were burnt by |
| IPO=burn you by you NA=hold fire | holding the fire.' |

**ne=genaw=an danà di mig=angay dutu
IPR=cold=RF by he PA=go to
'He caught malaria from his going to Kulaman.'

Kulaman
Kulaman

**ne=bilanggu egoh anay danà di eg=tigbas
IPO=imprison when first by he NA=cut.up
'He was imprisoned for hacking up a Japanese.'

Apun
Japanese

Unlike kenà and egoh, danà is not an objectified expression. It is not the head word of the expression but is a valence-carrying morpheme linking the verb of the danà expression to the nuclear open expression of the sentence. The danà expression, however, can substitute for a simple substantive like the egoh and kenà expressions.

mine=laeb siya lepò danà apuy
IPO=wilt that coconut by fire
'The coconut tree has been wilted by the fire.'

egke=kiling sa tanà danà i Nemula
INO=spin DET earth by DET Nemula
'The earth has been set spinning by God.'

egke=kiling i Nemula sa tanà
INO=spin DET God DET earth
'The earth has been set spinning by God.'

Some subordinate constructions are unambiguously clauses. These clauses are related back to the main clause by such expressions as:

anì 'in order that'
ka, enù ka 'because'
amuk 'if, when'
huenan di 'for this reason'

huenan di stands clause finally preceded by a slight pause. The other expressions stand at the head of the clause.

anì followed by eg- elides to give anig- in normal speech, for example, anì eg-angay dini ---> anigangay dini.

eg=lidung a ka duen batà di,
NA=hide I as there.is child his
'I am hiding because his child is following me.'
eg=lohot=en di aken
NO=follow=OF he me

endà peke=ipanaw di ka ne=polot
not INA=walk he as INO=bind
'He can't move about because he is bound.'

eg=umow=en ku sa sawa ku anì eg=angay
NO=call=OF I DET wife my so.that NA=go
dini pe=bulung
here CA=medicine
'I am calling my wife to come here to be given medicine.'

t=in=alun sa manuk anì
release=PO=___ DET hen so.that
egpeke=kaen
INA=eat
'The hen has been released so that it can be fed.'

eg=tipak=en ku sa kayu; dakel,
NO=cut.down=OF I DET wood big
huenan di
reason its
'I am paring down the wood; it is too big.'

**amuk k=um=e=dakel, d=um=uen bulbul di
when DRV=FA=___=big be=FA=___ hair its
'When it becomes big, it will have hair.'

endà meke=kaen ké, amuk endà duen kayu
not IFA=eat we if not there.is wood
'We can't eat unless there is wood (for our fire).'

Single words may substitute in the slots marked by these subordinating words. These single words are usually open verbal expressions with a zero third-person subject and must be given the status of full clauses. Single objectified expressions may, however, substitute in these slots.

eg=hemued=en ki kilat, ka duma ta
NO=bite=OF we lightning as relatives our
'We would be struck by lightning (for such an act) as they are our relations.'

Such substitution of an objectified expression cannot occur in a clause introduced by anì.

### 4.6.4 Time and location words as major open expressions

Time and location are generally indicated by lateral items. Occasionally, however, such an item may function as the nuclear open expression of the sentence.

simag a pa
tomorrow I still
'I will be back tomorrow.'

simag a pa t=um=elaki
tomorrow I still folktale=FA=___
'I will tell the folktale tomorrow.'

dutu dé Mundi a, eg=lagbas dé
there PRT Mundi DET NA=pass.by PRT
'There goes Mundi now passing.'

sekepadiyan ka dutu kenà ko dò,
one.week you to place your LOC
'You had been gone one week on your way home when she died.'

**ne=matay dé
IPO=die PRT

## 4.7 Derivational affixes

### 4.7.1 pig-

The prefix pig- can best be translated 'to go about looking for':

eg=pig=bayi Papi ya
NA=SRC=women Puppy DET
'Puppy is out looking for female dogs.'

p=in=ig=sagé=én ku siya wé ayap dagat
SRC=PO=___=tide.line=OF I that DEM shell sea
'I went along the tide line looking for shells.'

piglaget 'to look for tobacco leaf'
pigkayu 'to go to collect wood'
pigposot 'look for betel nut'
pigkutu 'look for fleas'

The prefix eg- precedes pig- to indicate the direction of travel.

eg=pig=kulaman a
NA=SRC=Kulaman I
'I am going up to Kulaman.'

### 4.7.2 lig-

lig- is found in a number of stems. No meaning can be assigned to it. It is presumably an inactive morph, a historical residue.

| | |
|---|---|
| ligtuwa | 'waterfall' |
| ligkubung | 'to pull dress up over head' |
| ligpuwak | 'to topple off from a height' |
| egpeligboyot | 'to speak slowly and deliberately' |

### 4.7.3 li-

li- is found in a number of verbal expressions, for example:

| | |
|---|---|
| kumeliwayeg | 'to become saturated with water' (from wayeg 'water') |
| melimeket | 'to be sticky' (from peneket 'stick to') |
| egkelimedang | 'to be afraid' (from nemedang) |
| egkelimahan | 'to put to rights/fix up'. |

### 4.7.4 mekepe-

meke- never occurs with <-en>, <-an>, <-um->, or <i-> affix sets. It has been found occasionally in combination with the prefix pe-.

| | |
|---|---|
| endà pa meke=pe=tebek di<br>not yet IFA=CA=inject he | 'He has not yet been injected.' |
| endà meke=pe=tulad ké<br>not IFA=CA=photograph we | 'Aren't we going to be photographed?' |

The affix pe- transforms the meke- expression into a distinctly passive construction in which the action of some other person or agent reflects back on the subject. (See also sec. 1.4 on causative constructions.)

### 4.7.5 -umin-

-umin- is not an uncommon infix. The constructions in which it has been found have been actor-subject and intransitive. There is no evidence to suggest, however, that all -umin- constructions must be intransitive. The meaning of the affix is not certain. It has usually been associated with comments concerning some activity immediately after the event.

| | |
|---|---|
| **l=umin=away eg=legkang diyà sedep<br>fly=PA=___ NA=leave from under.house | '(The hen) just flew off from under the house.' |
| **l=umin=ayang kedu dahini<br>jump=PA=___ from here | 'He (the kitten) just jumped from here.' |
| t=umin=ayagpes a doo<br>clear.land=PA=___ I indeed | 'I have just been clearing land.' |
| me=pion ka t=umin=ebow ka<br>ADJ=good because arrive=PA=___ you | 'It is good that you have just come.' |

4.7.6 kepe- -an

The kepe- -an combination of affixes has been found only once, with the root unut 'to accompany'.

| | |
|---|---|
| egke=pe=unut=an ku sa kelamag | 'I follow the wind |
| INR=CA=accompany=RP I DET wind | (in my canoe).' |

In the foregoing expression the wind is implied as the active agent, but definite participation of the agent is also implied. An exact translation of the affix combination is not possible.

4.7.7 tege-

tege- indicates constant or habitual action:

tegekadì 'to annoy all the time'
tegeantang 'one who presides at a dispute or meeting'
tegeketket 'to gnaw all the time'

| | |
|---|---|
| tegepelihayen i Simag Tilikan na | 'Tilikan is always teased by Simag.' |

4.7.8 tig-

tig- implies a restricted repetitive action:

| | |
|---|---|
| mine=tig=pokò=pokò siya batang | 'The log broke into |
| IPO=DIST=short=short that log | many short pieces.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=tig=disek=isek=en da pelà | 'They are just |
| NO=DIST=little=little=OF they still | cutting up the meat |
| sa usa | into small pieces.' |
| DET animal | |

tig- is often affixed to numerals to produce the following constructions:

| | |
|---|---|
| tig=lima=wen ta kenita | 'Each of us took five |
| DIST=five=FO we us | pieces each.' |
| **ne=tig=duwa kenami | 'We each received |
| IPO=DIST=two we | two.' |
| **tig=duwa=ay gulé eg=tepi=yen | 'Each is to be split |
| DIST=two=RC times NO=split=OF | into two.' (or, split twice.) |

| | |
|---|---|
| tig=lima=way gesaw<br>DIST=five=RC rafters | 'The rafters are to be arranged in five groups along the roof.' |

The affix sig- is somewhat related in function referring to only object:

| | |
|---|---|
| **sig=bagkes=bagkes=ay kenagda<br>DIST=one.binding=one.binding=RC they | 'Each received one bundle.' |
| ne=sig=baen da<br>IPO=DIST=one they | 'They were distributed one to each parent.' |
| **eg=sig=baen=baen=en ku sa tablin, endà<br>NO=DIST=one=one=OF I DET tablet not | 'I take the tablets one at a time, not all at once.' |
| eg=lengon=en ku duu<br>NO=all=OF I NEG | |

4.7.9 se-

se- enters into a rather diverse group of constructions. It is difficult to define its exact function. With many of the constructions, however, it is possible to postulate the role of unity: unity of time, unity of place, unity of action, etc. This would suggest identity with the cardinal numeral ise 'one', which as a descriptive of nouns is sa, valenced to the following noun by the ligature ge-.

se- -ay indicates reciprocal action. This may be regarded as unity of action, both actors being involved in the same activity in the same place at the same time. The construction may be reciprocally intransitive or reciprocally transitive.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=se=bulit=ay da<br>NA=RC=angry=RC they | 'They are angry with each other.' |
| eg=se=tipon=oy da<br>NA=RC=gather=RC they | 'They are all gathered together.' |
| eg=se=tépéd=éy da<br>NA=RC=sit.beside=RC they | 'They are all sitting side by side.' |

It will be noted from these examples that the suffix consists of phonologically conditioned allomorphs: -éy and -oy following stems in which the vowels of the final syllable are é and o respectively, -ay occurring elsewhere.

Additional examples of the intransitive reciprocal type are:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=se=ikagi=yay da<br>NA=RC=speak=RC they | 'They are speaking to each other.' |
| eg=se=taked=ay da, sa ebos<br>NA=RC=heel=RC they DET roosters | 'The roosters are fighting.' |

In transitive reciprocal constructions a third party (nonsubject) is the object of the reciprocal activity.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=se=penakaw=ay da='t tanà<br>NA=RC=steal=RC they=LIG land | 'They steal the land from each other.' |
| eg=se=tabang=ay ki t=um=udak katilà<br>NA=RC=help=RC we plant=FA=___ swt.potato | 'We help each other plant sweet potato.' |
| eg=se=tinudu=ay da='t belad<br>NA=RC=point=RC they=LIG hands | 'They point at each other.' |

se- also enters into combination with the affix sets <-um->, <-en->, and <-an>. It has not yet been found in combination with set <i->.

Only a few sume- constructions have been recorded. Most have been transitively reciprocal, the reciprocity involving the activity of the object, the subject initiating the activity. Such a construction permits a singular subject. (Plurality of subject is essential with se- -ay constructions.)

| | |
|---|---|
| sume=tipon a etaw; t=um=egudon a I<br>FAREP=gather I people tell.story=FA=___ | 'I'll have the people gather together; I intend to tell a story.' |
| sume=buteng ki='t kudà<br>FAREP=bite we=LIG horse | 'We'll organise a horse fight.' (We'll set the horses fighting.) |
| egse=taked a duwa manuk<br>NOREP=heel I two chicken | 'I'll set the two chickens to fighting (striking) with the spur of the heel)'. |
| sume=sugù ké kenagda eg=se=ludeg=ay<br>FAREP=request we them NA=RC=wrestle=RC | 'We'll ask them to wrestle together.' |

In one instance the unity or reciprocity seems to involve a one-for-one correlation between subject and object.

| | |
|---|---|
| sume=kuyà ki sa kudà | 'We go after the |
| FAREP=pursue we DET horse | horses, one person |
| | after each horse.' |

*sumekuyà a sa kudà is impermissible.

se- -en is the most common of the se- constructions and is essentially goal-subject. Reciprocity is often a feature of such constructions, the reciprocating or reciprocated members being the subject of the construction while another party initiates the activity. This parallels the <pe- -en> construction already dealt with in which some person (not the subject) causes another person or thing (the subject) to perform the action implied by the verb root.

Typical examples of this type are:

| | |
|---|---|
| egse=limud=en ku pa kagda da Fléd da | 'I'll get them to |
| NOREP=crowd.in=OF I PRT them to Fred PRT | gather together to |
| | Fred.' |
| egse=hau=wen da kagda | 'They brought them |
| NOREP=see=OF they they | face to face.' |
| egse=liyu=wen ku sa bangku | 'I'll change the |
| NOREP=behind=OF I DET stools | stools around.' |
| egse=sugu=en ku kiyu eg=se=balbal=ay | 'I have ordered you |
| NOREP=order=OF I you NA=RC=beat=RC | to beat each other.' |

The reciprocity may, however, obtain between the nonsubject agents of the action.

| | |
|---|---|
| egse=penakaw=en da sa ungéh diatas | 'They (the cats) are |
| NOREP=snatch=OF they DET rat upstairs | playing with the mouse |
| | upstairs.' |
| egse=penakaw=en da sa tanà | 'They snatch the land |
| NOREP=snatch=OF they DET land | from each other.' |

In the following expression there is no reciprocity between the subject items. The reciprocity may, however, be in the action of one person who buys from another person who initiates or requests the action. It is essentially a closed process involving no outside party. A <pe- -en> construction would involve a first party getting another party to buy from still another party. This se- -en construction is a process involving only two parties, the first party getting the second party to buy from the first party.

| | |
|---|---|
| egse=beli=yen di siya manuk diyà keniko | 'He got you to buy |
| NOREP=buy=OF he that chicken to you | the chicken from him.' |

Uniting action rather than reciprocity is implied in the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| egse=tepeng=en ku sa elé | 'I will even up the |
| NOREP=measure=OF I DET kunai | kunai (cogon) grass.' |

Here the bundles of grass cut for roofing are jostled to bring the stem ends uniformly together. The simple goal-subject expression is:

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=tepeng=en ku sini unol | 'I will measure this |
| NO=measure=OF I this snake | unol snake.' |

Here the snake is measured by placing a measuring rod alongside it.

Contrasting the two sentences with the same root serves to emphasise the unity connotation of se-.

Somewhat the same feature is involved in the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| egse=tipon ku sa me=doo latà | 'I gather the tins |
| NOREP=gather I DET ADJ=many tins | together (in one spot).' |
| egse=dapag=en da sa dawat | 'They place the pens |
| NOREP=near=OF they DET pens | close together.' |

Unity in these sentences may be defined as "togetherness." Togetherness is also indicated in the following expressions:

| | |
|---|---|
| egse=lapin=en di sa libi | 'He is interlaying |
| NOREP=layer=OF he DET libi | the libi palm leaves.' |
| egse=sumpat=en i Piping sa gesaw | 'Piping will overlap |
| NOREP=overlap=OF DET Piping DET rafters | the ends of the rafter poles.' |

Negation of togetherness is indicated in the following expressions in which the unitedness refers to the subject items:

| | |
|---|---|
| egse=talak=en ta sa labit | 'We'll place the |
| NOREP=place.apart=OF we DET rabbits | rabbits in separate compartments.' |

The function of se- with other roots is not always clear as in:

amuk duen kelang, m=igsa sa sebaen 'If corn is in,
if there.is corn FA=ask DET another another person may ask
(if there is any).'

etaw
person

**endà, guwaen ta i, sine=kaen ké dé '"No," we say, "we
no say we POREP=eat we PRT have eaten it."'

It would seem from the context that all the corn has been eaten. (Unity may be implied in the completeness of the act.) The same interpretation may hold for more ambiguous sentences.

sa miyong, egse=kaen=en di siya me=doo 'The cat is eating a
DET cat NOREP=eat=OF he that ADJ=many lot of paper.'

kelatas
paper

With godoy 'to drag', se- seems to indicate unity, the agent dragging one object, or a group of agents each dragging one thing.

egse=godoy=en ku sa talumpà ku 'I'm dragging my
NOREP=drag=OF I DET sandal my sandal along.'

egse=godoy=en i Mali Papi ya 'Puppy is being
NOREP=drag=OF DET Marie Puppy DET dragged along by
Marie.'

egse=godoy=en ké sa apus 'We dragged the apus
NOREP=drag=OF we DET bamboo bamboo down.'

sine=godoy i Papi sa miyong 'Puppy is dragging
POREP=drag=OF DET Puppy DET cat the cat along.'

With other roots the role of se- is even more difficult to define, its omission having little if any effect on the construction.

egse=ketket=en di sa kayu 'It (the rabbit) is
NOREP=gnaw=OF he DET wood gnawing at the wood.'

egse=pegeni=yen da diyà keniko sa kulta 'They are asking you
NOREP=beg=OF they to you DET money for money.'

se- -an is an affix combination indicating reciprocal or unified action by agents operating on another party, the subject.

| | |
|---|---|
| egse=oyong=on da eg=uwit makina da<br>NOREP=carry=OF they NA=bring machine their | 'They are carrying the machine between them at each end.' |
| **egse=bulig=an ta eg=hanet<br>NRREP=help=RF we NA=lift | 'We help each other to lift (it).' |
| egse=limud=an da aken<br>NRREP=crowd=RF they me | 'They crowd in upon me.' |
| **egse=dibaluy=an ta eg=tutuk<br>NRREP=opposite.side=RF we NA=nail | 'We nail together from both sides at once.' |
| egse=ugpu=wan da eg=hemued sa ungéh<br>NRREP=end=RF they NA=bite DET rat | 'They are biting at the rat from both ends.' |
| egse=tagped=an ta sa timun<br>NRREP=cut=RF we DET cucumber | 'We cut the cucumber and take half each.' |

Another use of se- is in combination with the affixes ke-, me-,and pe-, respectively. The resulting combinations are rarely found with the affix sets <-en>, <-an>, or <i->. Each of the combinations conveys a sense of togetherness and/or reciprocity.

ke-

| | |
|---|---|
| egkese=tubeltubel da egke=matay<br>NREC=die.in.epidemic they INO=die | 'They died one after the other.' |
| egkese=umut da, sa sayap<br>NREC=accompany they DET hat | 'The hats fell down one behind the other.' |
| egkese=hidu yu<br>NREC=love you | 'You love each other.' |

me-

| | |
|---|---|
| nese=tipon ki dalem<br>PREC=gather we inside | 'We gathered together inside.' |
| **nese=tepeng<br>PREC=same | 'It is the same, of like nature.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| nese=dugkul ki<br>PREC=bump we | 'We bumped together.' |

pe-

| | |
|---|---|
| amuk etaw duen épél ku,<br>if person there.is bro-in-law my | 'If there is a person, my brother-in-law, I will go (to him).' |
| eg=angay a dutu<br>NA=go I there | |
| eg=se=pe=sunggud=ay ké, enù ka tebay<br>NA=RC=CA=bride.price=RC we, as RP sister | 'I will have him exchange bride price items, because my sister is his wife.' |
| ku duen sawa di<br>my there.is wife his | |

egpesesungguday ké is said to mean the same as egpesungguden ku sa epél ku 'I will get my brother-in-law to give me bride price items'.

| | |
|---|---|
| eg=pe=se=bulig a keniyu<br>NA=CA=RC=help I you | 'I'll get you to help me.' |
| eg=pe=se=uwit=uwit ké dalem owong endà<br>NA=CA=RC=bring=bring we in canoe not | 'We will be carried along in the canoe; we won't paddle.' (The wind will take us.) |
| eg=pula ké<br>NA=paddle we | |
| eg=pe=se=limud ké melaweng etaw<br>NA=CA=RC=crowd we many people | 'We will be crowded in by many people.' |

In these pese- constructions the subject is the goal of an action. Togetherness or reciprocity is detectable in most cases.

The following are examples of one of the foregoing combinations in association with a non-actor-subject affix.

| | |
|---|---|
| **nese=dibaluy=an eg=tutuk<br>PREC=opposite.side=RF NA=nail | 'It has been nailed from both sides.' |
| éhé siya labit, pe=se=amut=en ku kagda<br>e.g. that rabbit CA=FOREP=mix=FO I them | 'For instance, the rabbits, I will have them put together.' |

## 4.8 Other derivation for stem formation

### 4.8.1 Substantives

The majority of substantives are free roots. It is characteristic of Cotabato Manobo, as well as all other Filipino dialects, that roots which function in isolation as substantives with few exceptions may become stems for verbal expressions. Even town names may function as verb stems, for example, egpigkulaman 'to go to Kulaman'.

The possessive pronoun hagdi has been found as a verb root:

| | |
|---|---|
| hagdi=yen di kita | 'He'll take us for |
| his=FO he us | his own.' |

Another example of a substantive becoming a verb stem is shown in the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| gulé | 'times, multiple' |
| segulé | 'one, one time' |
| egseguléen sa duwa | 'two taken one at a time' |

Substantives may be derived by affixation from roots which are verbal, that is, roots not found in isolation as substantives).

Affixation of ke- to a root produces a substantive which is a nominalised active or stative verb expression:

| | |
|---|---|
| telu agdaw pa ke=dagpak i emà ku | 'My father will |
| three day yet DRV=arrival of father my | arrive here in three days.' |
| h=um=aa a hagdi ke=bigkat | 'I would like to see |
| see=FA=___ I his DRV=walk | how they walk.' |
| **diyà ke=dakel i Papi | 'He is as big as |
| to DRV=big DET Puppy | Puppy.' |
| egpeke=sapel sa ke=buung ko | 'The thing you threw |
| INO=rebound DET DRV=throw your | rebounded on you.' |
| anì me=pion sa ke=lengà di | '... so that it will |
| so.that ADJ=good DET DRV=release its | be easy to release.' |
| iya ke=diyù di ya | 'That is how far it |
| that DRV=distant its | is away.' |

Affixation of -an to an open expression produces a substantive indicating location or place:

| | |
|---|---|
| mangay a dagat dò<br>go I sea LOC | 'I am going to the sea.' |
| angayan ko ya<br>go you PRT | 'Where are you going?' |
| egdanan a<br>rest.head I | 'I rest my head down on something.' |
| dananan | 'pillow' |
| kedu a kenà ku dò<br>from I place my LOC | 'I have come from my house.' |
| keduwan ko ya<br>from you PRT | 'Where are you from?' |

Affixation of either of the goal-subject affixes -en and -in- to an open (verbal) root, or to a root which may function without affixes as a simple substantive, commonly produces simple derived substantives:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| egkelu 'to cut weeds' | ---> | kelu 'bolo' |
| | ---> | keluwen 'weeds' |
| egtibah 'to clear land' | ---> | tinibah 'farm clearing' |
| sigpù 'spear' | ---> | sinigpù 'arrow with spearlike head' |
| sagpeng 'lid' | ---> | sinagpeng 'basket with lid' |
| eglugab 'to cook in water' | ---> | linugab 'cooked food' |
| tusù 'pointed spiral shell' | ---> | tinusù 'brass belt' |
| kaen 'eat' | ---> | kaenen 'food' |
| egtudug 'to sleep' | ---> | tinudug 'sleep' |

endà duen tinudug ku egoh sigep 'I did not sleep last night.'

Verbal expressions may be objectified by preposing an objectifying <sa> particle:

| | |
|---|---|
| eglinadu 'to be sick' | sa eglinadu 'a sick person' |
| egbaba 'to carry on back' | sa egbaba kenak 'someone to carry me' |
| egbegay 'to give' | sak binegayan ko timus 'the one to whom you gave salt' |

| | |
|---|---|
| beken duu pulow siya egbuung | 'It is not an owl that |
| not NEG owl the throw | hurls things.' |

Substantives derived by the objectifying of clauses will be referred to as compound substantives.

Simple substantives may also be derived by double affixation:

| | |
|---|---|
| salà | 'sin, wrongdoing, crime' |
| kesalaan | 'payment for crime, fine' |
| | |
| egtulù | 'to teach' |
| sa ketulù | 'the act of teaching' |
| sa kepetulù | 'the act of being taught' |
| | |
| unut | 'to accompany/to follow/to obey' |
| keunutan | 'leader' |

| | |
|---|---|
| iya ke=unut=an da diyà Kulaman, | 'Mamu is their leader |
| that DRV=accompany=RF they at Kulaman | at Kulaman.' |
| | |
| si Mamu | |
| DET Mamu | |

4.8.2 Reduplication

Reduplication of a root usually implies lesser intensity of quality or purpose in an open expression. [Underlining here shows root reduplication rather than subject as in examples in the rest of the article.-Ed.]

| | |
|---|---|
| m=ipanaw a dutu dagat dò | 'I am going to the |
| FA=travel I to coast LOC | coast.' |
| | |
| eg=ipanaw=panaw a | 'I am just walking |
| NA=travel=travel I | about (going nowhere |
| | in particular).' |
| | |
| me=tiig=tiig ka dé eg=ikagi Menubù | 'You know a little |
| IFO=know=know you PRT NA=speak Manobo | how to speak Manobo.' |
| | |
| me=tiig a eg=duyuy | 'I know how to sing.' |
| IFO=know I NA=sing | |
| | |
| eg=patay=patay sa legleg di | 'Its flame is dying |
| NA=die=die DET flame its | slowly.' |
| | |
| ne=matay da doo | 'They died.' |
| IPO=die they PRT | |

| | |
|---|---|
| miitem 'black' | miitem-item 'slightly black' |
| diisek 'little' | diisek-isek 'somewhat small' |

Reduplication of an open expression occasionally indicates frequent repetition or prolongation:

| | |
|---|---|
| egpelepenglepeng | 'pop its head in and out of container' |
| egliguligu | 'to go round and round in circles' |
| egpegtotpegtot | 'to hop or canter along bobbing up and down' |

Reduplication of objectified expressions usually indicates plurality:

| | |
|---|---|
| saging 'banana' | sagingsaging 'a plantation of bananas' |
| libutà 'mud' | libutàbutà 'an expanse of mud' |
| sugud 'plain' | sugudsugud 'an expanse of plains' |
| katilà 'sweet potato' | katilàtilà 'a field of sweet potato' |

In general plural is not indicated either in the verb expression or the substantive. It is inferred from the context.

## 4.9 Phrases

### 4.9.1 Descriptive <--- descriptive

The descriptive <--- descriptive constitute [indicated by underlining in the following examples] is occasionally found:

| | |
|---|---|
| senga simag duen dema salà di<br>every morning there.is again evil his | 'Every morning he is wicked over again.' |
| senga simag<br>every morning | 'every morning' |
| duen etaw dutu, me=doo temù<br>there.is people there ADJ=many very | 'There are people there, very many of them.' |
| me=doo temù<br>ADJ=many very | 'very many' |

### 4.9.2 Comparative construction

Comparison is usually indicated by the expression diyà.

| | |
|---|---|
| me=bagel pa kedungon diyà libi<br>ADJ=strong yet abaca to libi | 'Abaca is stronger than libi palm.' |
| **diyà ke=dakel kenagdi<br>to DRV=big him | 'It is as big as he.' |

| | |
|---|---|
| uman=uman pa ke=dakel di dahini | 'It (the tablet) is a |
| more=more yet DRV=big it here | bit bigger than this |
| | one here.' |

## NOTES

1. The material on which this analysis of Cotabato Manobo is based was collected during one year's residence (1956-57) in the community of Datu Mama Undas. It was obtained in the normal course of daily activity from non-English speakers who spoke Cotabato Manobo as their first language. Most of the material was collected from members of the local territorial group and from our houseboys, Mundi, Umpit, and Atudan. A considerable amount of useful material was collected from Datu Mama Undas. In the final six weeks more systematic work was undertaken, especially with our eldest house boy, Umpit. He was a lad of exceptional intelligence who, though illiterate at the time, learned to read and write his own language after two months of training. A number of folktales were collected from him.

Particular thanks are due to the Summer Institute of Linguistics, under whose auspices this work was undertaken, and to its various members in the Philippines (R.E. Elkins, F.B. Dawson, and others) whose studies of related dialects have helped greatly to an understanding of Cotabato Manobo. Special thanks are also due to those members of the organization, Drs. K.L. Pike. R.S. Pittman, and H.P. McKaughan, to whom the author owes his training in linguistics during their terms as Principal at successive sessions of the Summer School of Linguistics held in Australia since 1950.

[Ross Errington, an S.I.L. researcher among the Cotabato Manobo since 1976, suggested the publication of Kerr's "Cotabato Manobo Grammar" and has contributed much editorial help. The initials R.E. at the end of bracketed material in this study indicate that it was contributed by Mr. Errington.--Ed.]

2. In all vernacular examples the subject of a sentence will be underlined. If the subject is a zero third person singular, this will be indicated by a double asterisk.

3. [The present continuous affix is called neutral time aspect in the examples, following the terminology of Johnston (1975).--R.E.]

4. Following the standard convention, impermissible constructions will be indicated by a single asterisk.

5. hauwen is the goal-subject form of the root haa 'to see'.

6. manà is the -um- form of the root panà 'to shoot with a bow'.

7. [Later analysis revealed that yaka is used for a singular negative command, and yoko is used for plural, for example:

## APPENDIX: COTABATO MANOBO PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of the Cotabato Manobo language are listed here to show the phonetic, phonemic, and practical orthography. (See also Lyman 1971.) In this appendix, glottal stop is written as ʔ; normally glottal stop is unwritten except at word-final position, in which case it is written with a grave accent mark ( ̀ ). All phonemes are produced with eggressive lung air. All vowel phonemes are voiced.

| Phonetic | Phonemic | Practical | Illustration | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [a], [ʌ] | /a/ | a | alat | 'open woven basket' |
| [b] | /b/ | b | bataʔ | 'child' |
| [k], [k̟] | /k/ | k | kayu | 'wood' |
| [d] | /d/ | d | dalid | 'eagle' |
| [ɛ] | /ɛ/ | e | ebel | 'smoke' |
| [ə] [e] | /ə/ | é | épéʔ | 'master' |
| [g] | /g/ | g | gatas | 'milk' |
| [h] | /h/ | h | habet | 'carrying sling' |
| [i], [ɪ] | /i/ | i | iyug | 'back' |
| [l] | /l/ | l | lepoʔ | 'coconut' |
| [m] | /m/ | m | mata | 'eye' |
| [n] | /n/ | n | nanas | 'pineapple' |
| [ŋ] | /ŋ/ | ng | ngipen | 'teeth' |
| [ɔ̂], [ɔ̌] | /ɔ̂/ | o | owong | 'canoe' |
| [p] | /p/ | p | paliʔ | 'wound' |
| [s] | /s/ | s | sapiʔ | 'cow' |
| [t] | /t/ | t | tabuʔ | 'cup' |
| [u], [ʊ] | /u/ | u | ubal | 'monkey' |
| [w] | /w/ | w | wayeg | 'water' |
| [y] | /y/ | y | yu | 'you (plural)' |
| [ʔ] | /ʔ/ | | piʔpiʔ | 'to wash' |

The following chart shows the position and manner of articulation of phonemes. vl indicates voicelessness and vd voicing. Allophones are in brackets.

CONSONANTS:

| Manner of Articulation | | Point of Articulation: Bilabial | Alveolar | Velar | Glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop: | vl | | t | k | ʔ |
| | vd | b | d | g | |
| Fricative: | vl | p | s | | h |
| Nasal: | vd | m | n | ŋ | |
| Lateral: | vd | | l | | |
| nonsyllabic vocoids | | w | y | | |

VOWELS:

| | | Front Unrounded | Mid Unrounded | Back Rounded |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High: | Close | i [i] | | u [u] |
| | Open | [ɩ] | | [ʊ] |
| Mid: | Close | ɛ [e] | ə [ə] | |
| | Open | [ɛ] | [ʌ] | ɔ̂ [ɔ̂] |
| Low: | Close | | | [ɔ̌] |
| | Open | | a [a] | |

Description of Consonants

Stops: There are three voiceless stops, t, k, and ʔ, which are articulated at the alveolar, velar, and glottal points respectively. k has two allophones, [k] and backed voiceless velar [k̟]. [k̟] occurs infrequently (and only with some speakers), contiguous to the vocoid [ɔ̌], or possibly in association with the vowel sequence [ɔ̂] + [ɔ̂], [ɔ̌] + [ɔ̌], or [ɔ̂] + [ɔ̌]. New literates had no difficulty in writing or reading the phoneme k, which added weight to the conclusion that [k] and [k̟] are allophones. Examples:

[kɔ̌nɔ̌k̟] /kɔ̂nɔ̂k̟/ konok 'white ants'
[siʔɔ̌k̟ɔʔ] /siʔɔ̂kɔ̂ʔ/ siʔokoʔ 'wasp'

There are three voiced stops, b, d, and g, articulated at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points respectively.

Stop Contrasts:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| t and d | tana? | 'earth' | dalit | 'hawk, eagle' |
| | dana? | 'by' | dalid | 'root' |
| | togo? | 'stringed instrument' | katal | 'noose' |
| | | | dadal | 'a slope' |
| | dogo? | 'nearly' | | |
| k and ? | pilak | 'pesos' | talak | 'to keep' |
| | pila? | 'type of ant' | tala? | 'to pass by' |
| | melok | 'bird species' | badak | 'jack fruit' |
| | melo? | 'very' | bada? | 'to whisper because of laryngitis' |
| k and g | anak | 'offspring' | kelang | 'corn' |
| | anag | 'to hit target' | gelang | 'stalk of fungus' |
| | lukot | 'waste tissue' | tuduk | 'ridge of hill' |
| | lugot | 'to be pursued' | tudug | 'to sleep' |
| ? and g | ba?u | 'sea turtle' | kala? | 'frying pan' |
| | bagu | 'a small tree' | kalag | 'to bite skin without puncturing' |
| | simag | 'tomorrow' | lénég | 'slow' |
| | sima? | 'small projecting piece on bolo, etc.' | lésé? | 'to crackle' |

Fricatives: There are three voiceless fricatives, p, s and h, articulated at the bilabial, alveolar, and glottal points respectively.

Fricative Contrasts:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| h and ? | bagah | 'glowing coal' | pelah | 'back of tongue' |
| | baga? | 'lungs' | pela? | 'underarm' |
| | bulah | 'debris dropping into eye' | luhub | 'to pull on clothes' |
| | bula? | 'white' | lu?eb | 'cylinder for storing arrows' |

Nasals: There are three voiced nasals, m, n, and ng, which are articulated at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar points respectively.

Nasal Contrasts:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| n and ng | dalan 'path' | sambi?an 'to exchange' |
| | delang 'tree species' | sambi?ang 'mouth of river' |
| | nigu 'winnowing basket' | tuntun 'to hand down' |
| | ngibu 'thousand' | tungsung 'firefly' |

Laterals: There is only one lateral, l, which is voiced and articulated at the alveolar point.

Nonsyllabic Vocoids: There are two nonsyllabic vocoids. The voiced high back close rounded w has been interpreted as a bilabial consonant. The voiced high front close unrounded y has been interpreted as an alveolar consonant.

## Description of Vowels

Front Vowels (i and é): i has two allophones: high, close, unrounded vocoid [i] and high, open, unrounded vocoid [ɪ]. [ɪ] is restricted in its occurrence to closed syllables, that is, CVC syllables. [i] occurs in positions other than in closed syllables. (In the following examples syllable boundaries are indicated by a period.)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [pɪn.tɪt] | /pintit/ | pintit | 'a small duck' |
| [li.pɪt] | /lipit/ | lipit | 'a peg or clip' |
| [li.hi] | /lihi/ | lihi | 'bad luck' |
| [si.lʊŋ] | /siliŋ/ | siling | 'spirit beings of the water'. |

é has two allophones, mid, open, unrounded vocoid [ɛ] and mid, close, unrounded vocoid [e]. [e] occurs only following k in open syllables (CV syllables); [ɛ] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [bɛ.bɛ?] | /bɛbɛ?/ | bébé? | 'grandparent' |
| [ke.gət] | /kɛgət/ | kégét | 'to squeak' |
| [ke.bɛŋ] | /kɛbɛŋ/ | kébéng | 'lying part in the water' |
| [ke.mɛt] | /kɛmɛt/ | kémét | 'to hold with thumb and finger' |

i and é Contrasts:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ki | 'we incl' | beti? | 'loop' |
| ké | 'we excl' | beté? | 'to crackle' |
| legpi? | 'to fold end to end' | di | 'he' |
| legpé? | 'to follow contour of hill' | dé | particle |
| kilkil | 'to master' | kuwi? | 'to quiver (at tip of nose)' |
| kélkél | 'a rasp for wood' | kuwék | 'to squeal' |

Mid Vowels (e and a): e is a mid, close unrounded vocoid.

e and é Contrasts:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kelet | 'close together' | tugek | 'to brace, prop' |
| kelét | 'species of bird' | tugék | 'to break down' |
| lebés | 'to splash out' | beleté? | 'small red ant' |
| lébéd | 'to crawl (insect)' | belésé? | 'species of bird' |
| pengké | 'name of woman' | lesék | 'to dive under water' |
| béngké? | 'mumps' | lepé? | 'to lay ears back (dog)' |

a has two allphones: low, open, unrounded, vocoid [a] and mid, open, unrounded vocoid [ʌ]. [ʌ] occurs only preceding glottal stop or h; [a] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [ba.tʌ?] | /bata?/ | bata? | 'child' |
| [na.nʌ?] | /nana?/ | nana? | 'pus' |
| [su.wʌh] | /suwah/ | suwah | 'to vomit' |
| [la.lʌh] | /lalah/ | lalah | 'refers to water being hot' |

a and e Contrasts:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| katal | 'loop' | pala | 'to shovel' |
| katel | 'yaws' | pela? | 'armpit' |
| liwas | 'male monkey' | stud | 'to step up on something' |
| liwes | 'to skirt around mountain' | etud | 'to stop' |
| tabu? | 'cup' | kalang | 'bolo laid sharp edge up' |
| tebu | 'sugar cane' | kelang | 'corn' |

Back Vowels (u and o): u has two allophones: high, close, rounded vocoid [u] and high, open, rounded vocoid [ʊ]. [ʊ] occurs only in closed syllables (CVC); [u] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [ki.tʊt] | /kitut/ | kitut | 'blackened tip of arrow' |
| [ka.yu] | /kayu/ | kayu | 'wood' |
| [hu.di] | /hudi/ | hudi | 'last' |
| [u.lu.?ʊl] | /ulu?ul/ | ulu?ul | 'to shave whole head' |

o has two allophones: mid, close, rounded vocoid [o̞] and low, close, rounded vocoid [ɔ̞]. [ɔ̞] occurs only preceding ?, h, g, and word initially before k. It occurs contiguous to [k̟] in the few instances where this phone has been recorded, for example, [lu.k̟ɔ̞t̟ɔ̞k̟] /lukɔ̞tɔ̞k/ 'to boil'. [o̞] occurs elsewhere. Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [kə.lɔ̞h] | /kəlo̞h/ | keloh | 'young boy's name' |
| [to̞.gɔ̞?] | /to̞gɔ̞?/ | togo? | 'stringed musical instrument' |
| [ɔ̞.ko̞n] | /ɔ̞ko̞n/ | okon | 'young girl' |

[mə.dɔ̌.ʔɔ̂] /mədɔ̂ʔɔ̂/ medoʔo 'many'

u and o Contrasts:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| lebuk | 'bamboo species' | bulug | 'to do to no purpose' |
| lebok | 'to curve down' | bulog | 'white speck in eye' |
| ku | 'I' | kulong | 'to hold in hand above shoulder' |
| ko | 'you' | kolong | 'string from which fish are hung' |
| lepuʔ | 'to snap, break' | uton | 'fish' |
| lepoʔ | 'coconut' | uto | 'to place on head' |

Because there is a tendency in this language towards vowel harmony within words, the following lists of constrasts have been pre- pared to show the six vowel phonemes in contrast in bisyllabic words. The four vowels that occur with the highest frequency have been kept constant in the first vowel position of each group of contrasts.

Contrasts using e as the constant vowel:

| | |
|---|---|
| keling | 'species of bamboo' |
| kelét | 'medium-sized parrot' |
| keleng | 'to cut up wood into small pieces' |
| kelang | 'maize, corn' |
| kelung | 'to take shelter from the rain or sun' |
| kelong | 'scab' |

Contrasts using a as the contant vowel:

| | |
|---|---|
| sakit | 'pain' |
| sagéʔ | 'shore, rim of sea shelf exposed when tide is out' |
| saket | 'sweet smelling herb' |
| sabaʔ | 'to hold' |
| taguʔ | 'to contain, to place in' |
| agoh | 'time, appearance' |

Contrasts using u as the constant vowel:

| | |
|---|---|
| gulis | 'straight stripes' |
| kuléh | 'to push something away with a stick' |
| kulet | 'curly hair' |
| kudaʔ | 'horse' |
| kulut | 'an instrument used to shape out canoe hull' |
| kulot | 'bracket fungus (a mushroom)' |

Contrasts using i as the constant vowel:

| | |
|---|---|
| siling | 'spirit beings of the water' |
| (é does not occur in this position) | |
| sileng | 'to squint' |
| silang | 'sun shower' (silang silang) |
| silung | 'to glare with strong light in the dark' |
| silong | 'to be out of luck' |

## Distribution of the Phonemes within the Roots

The root has been chosen as the basic reference unit in describing the distribution of the phonemes. Most roots may stand in isolation. When roots are affixed, the root may stand either initially or finally in the word according to the affix or affixes used. With one exception the affixes so far discovered do not affect the phonetic or phonemic structure of the root, though a root-initial vowel may affect a root-final vowel of a prefix. (See the last section of this Appendix.)

It is assumed that glottal stop does not occur root initially. The phonetic evidence is strongly in favor of the existence of vowel-initial roots. There are no roots with a distinct initial glottal stop. In consequence there is no contrast between glottal-stop-initial roots and roots that are otherwise identical.

It need not be argued that glottal stop must pattern after the other stops, t, d, k, g, and b, which may occur word or root initially. Its function is not identical with the other stops. It is commonly interpolated nonphonemically between two vowels brought together at word boundaries. It is also sometimes inserted phonemically between a vowel-final root and a following suffix. (See the last section of this Appendix.)

When the commonly used verbal prefix eg- is preceded in an utterance by a vowel-final word, the vowel of the prefix is always reduced. Example:

kenaʔ di egtudug ---> kenaʔ digtudug 'the place where he sleeps'

This strengthens the argument that glottal stop does not occur root or word initially.

Roots comprise one or more syllables. All roots other than particles and series 1 and 2 pronouns (i.e., all roots which may take affixes) comprise at least two syllables.

A syllable is a unit of sound made up of a vowel, or a vowel preceded and/or followed by a consonant. The following are the syllable patterns occurring in Cotabato Manobo (V is vowel; C is consonant):

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| V | [a.kam] | /akam/ | akam | 'brown crab' |
| VC | [ag.daw] | /agdaw/ | agdaw | 'sun' |
| CV | [ba.yi] | /bayi/ | bayi | 'a female person or animal' |
| CVC | [bak.bak] | /bakbak/ | bakbak | 'hammer' |

These syllables combine to form roots in the following manner and with the restrictions listed below.

V may be followed by a CV or CVC pattern or both. Examples:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| V + CV | [i.lu̱] | /ilu/ | ilu | 'orphan' |
| V + CVC | [u.tɔn] | /uton/ | uton | 'fish' |
| V + CV + CVC | [i.lə.gʌʔ] | /iləgaʔ/ | ilegaʔ | 'to cook' |

VC may be followed by CVC and rarely by CV. Examples:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| VC + CVC | [un.sʊy] | /unsuy/ | unsuy | 'smoking pipe' |
| VC + CV | [ug.pu] | /ugpu/ | ugpu | 'the end of something' |

V and VC occur only root initially.

CVC and CV patterns may combine to produce up to four, and rarely five, syllable roots. Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CV + CV | [ma.ta] | mata | 'eye' |
| CVC + CVC | [tɪg.dəg] | tigdeg | 'to stand up' |
| CVC + CV | [tʊg.bu] | tugbu | 'cob of corn' |
| CVC + CV + CVC | [tɪg.ka.gan] | tigkagan | 'to squat' |
| CV + CVC | [hi.law] | hilaw | 'sappy, green' |
| CV + CV + CVC | [gə.gi.lak] | gegilak | 'to be ticklish' |
| CV + CV + CV + CVC | [ka.lɪm.bʌ.hʊʔ] | kalimbahuʔ | 'small knife' |
| CVC + CV + CV + CV | [gʊm.bə.li.ya] | gumbeliya | 'flashlight bulb' |
| CV + CVC + CV + CV | [kə.sɪn.si.li.yu] | kesɪnsiliyu | 'short underpants' |

CVC + CVC cannot be followed by either CVC or CV as no roots occur con- taining more than one consonant cluster.

CVC never occurs as a free root but commonly occurs in reduplicated form as a verb root. Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [gɔ̌ŋ.gɔ̌ŋ] | /gɔ̂gɔ̂ŋ/ | gonggong | 'to rock a cradle' |
| [tay.tay] | /taytay/ | taytay | 'steps, stairway' |

Consonants occurring in this pattern may be homorganic but are never identical. Examples:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| [tʊd.tʊd] | /tudtud/ | tudtud | 'to peck around' |
| [kəg.kəg] | /kəgkəg/ | kegkeg | 'to process of hardening |
| [bɪt.bɪt] | /bitbit/ | bitbit | 'to hold in one's hand' |

## Distribution of Consonants

The following analysis is based on a study of about 2,500 roots including all syllable patterns except reduplicated roots of the type $C_1V_1C_2C_1V_1C_2$ as in bakbak 'frog'. All consonants except glottal stop were found to occur root initially, root medially, and root finally. Glottal stop does not occur root initially.

All consonants except h occur in root-medial consonant clusters formed at the juncture of syllables. In the great majority of cases g is the initial member of the cluster. In 268 words in which consonant clusters occur, g occurs 142 times as the first member of the cluster. The consonants occurring in this position with the next highest frequency are m 43 times and ng 39 times. Other clusters are mostly nasals with a following homorganic non-nasal consonant. The following clusters occur:

Clusters with a stop as the first member:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| bl | tablin | 'tablet' | one occurrence only |
| dt | mudted | 'small river fish' | one occurrence only |
| ds | tedsék | 'cry of a kalagsuy' | one occurrence only |
| gb | tigbas | 'to cut up' | 27 occurrences |
| gt | ligti? | 'gold arm band' | 17 occurrences |
| gd | tigdeg | 'to stand up' | 13 occurrences |
| gk | bagkes | 'bundle of wood' | 36 occurrences |
| gp | degpul | 'blunt ended' | 28 occurrences |
| gs | ligseg | 'to clip into place' | 9 occurrences |
| gn | tagnu? | 'rain drop' | only one occurrence |
| gw | lugwéhél | 'to clang or rattle' | only one occurrence |
| ?s | sela?sa? | 'cut open bamboo' | only one occurrence |

A number of roots have an initial syllable bel or pel in which the e is very short and in fast speech is often heard as bl or pl. The presence of the vowel is confirmed by the fact that new literates consistently write it. Examples:

belahung 'wood borers'
pelaguy 'to flee'
yaka pela? 'not yet'

Clusters with a lateral as the first member:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| lk | balku | 'large motor launch' | one occurrence only |
| ly | balyug | 'tree species' | one occurrence only |

Clusters with a nasal as the first member:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| mb | kambing | 'goat' | 27 occurrences |
| mk | ki?umkum | 'gilded along axis' | one occurrence only |
| mp | talumpa? | 'shoes' | 15 ocurrences |
| nt | antep | 'to anticipate' | 25 occurrences |
| nd | sindaw | 'to flash or fame up' | 24 occurrences |
| ns | bansa? | 'tribe, race' | 7 occurrences |
| ngs | salungsung | 'small type of bolo' | one occurrence only |
| ngk | angka? | 'to project beyond' | 12 occurrences |
| ngg | sunggud | 'bride price' | 26 occurrences |

Cluster with w as the first member:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| wb | lugowbung | 'tree species' | one occurrence only |

Frequency of consonants: The following chart indicates the order of frequency of consonants occurring root initially, medially, and finally, and medially in a consonant cluster. These frequencies were calculated from root patterns CVC, CVCVC, CVCCVC, CVCCV, VCV, VCCVC, and VCVC. Approximately 1,400 roots were checked.

| INITIAL | MEDIAL | FINAL | MEDIAL IN A CC | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| l ... 259 | l ... 220 | ʔ ... 195 | g ... 106 | l ... 603 |
| t ... 185 | b ... 105 | t ... 166 | k, b 33 | t ... 443 |
| s ... 184 | p ... 100 | ng .. 152 | p .... 31 | k ... 398 |
| b ... 157 | n .... 87 | k ... 150 | n, ng 27 | s ... 360 |
| k ... 141 | g .... 83 | l ... 120 | t, d 25 | b ... 334 |
| p .... 61 | t .... 77 | s .... 99 | m .... 24 | g ... 326 |
| g .... 58 | k .... 74 | g .... 79 | s .... 10 | ng .. 240 |
| d .... 53 | s, m.. 67 | n .... 75 | w, y, l, ʔ | ʔ ... 234 |
| h .... 32 | d .... 62 | y .... 60 | are very | p ... 222 |
| m .... 23 | ng ... 56 | d .... 52 | infrequent | n ... 213 |
| n, ng, w | w .... 50 | b .... 39 | h no occur- | d ... 192 |
| very in- | ʔ infre- | y, ʔ, h | ence | m ... 147 |
| frequent; | quent | are very | | y ... 101 |
| y and ʔ no | | infrequent | | w .... 93 |
| occurrence | | | | h .... 88 |

Distribution of Vowels

An analysis of the vowel sequences of 1,329 roots conforming to the patterns CVCVC, CVCCVC (not including reduplicated monosyllabic roots of the type $C_1V_1C_2.C_1V_1C_2$, e.g., ngokngok 'to cry', siksik 'to bite at fleas', which would increase the frequency of vowel harmony considerably), VCCV, CVCCV, VCV, and VCVC indicates a considerable measure of vowel harmony.

The results are tabulated below indicating the total frequency of each vowel, the frequency of occurrence of homophonous vowel sequences actually recorded, and the frequency of occurrence of such sequences estimated for each vowel on the assumption of random (independent) association of all the vowels.

| VOWEL | TOTAL FREQUENCY | NUMBER OF HOMOPHONOUS SEQUENCES | | PERCENTAGE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | OBSERVED | EXPECTED | ABOVE EXPECTED |
| a | .319 | 199 | 135 | 148% |
| u | .234 | 105 | 73 | 144% |
| e | .200 | 75 | 53 | 141% |
| i | .134 | 31 | 14 | 221% |
| o | .080 | 46 | 8 | 575% |
| é | .036 | 26 | 1 | 2600% |

It will be observed that homophonous vowel sequences of each vowel occur much more frequently than expected if the vowels combine randomly in sequences in bisyllabic roots. It is also significant that the bias towards vowel harmony increases inversely with the total frequency of the vowel in the 1,329 roots analysed.

Relative Frequency of the Different Syllable Patterns:

| CVCVC | CVCCVC | VCCV and CVCCV | VCV | VCVC |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 967 | 136 | 28 | 12 | 186 |

All vowels except e can occur in any vowel position. (These statements are based on an analysis of about 2,500 roots without restriction of CV structure.)

e never occurs in a root- or word-final open syllable. It is interesting to note that while the other vowels occur with relative frequency in final syllables closed by the nonsyllabic w and y, e is found only twice in this position. In both cases it preceded y in girls' names, which may have been distorted by the practice of familiar addresses. This would suggest that the nonsyllabic w and y do not effect strong closure of a final syllable.

e is also never found preceding w and y in any other position in a word or root, although the other vowels commonly occur before these phonemes in initial or medial position, for example, luwang 'a hollow thing', iya 'the', kelawit 'spear'.

Vowel Distribution with Reference to Other Vowels:

Most of the vowels appear to associate with any other vowel in any sequence. There are, however, a few restrictions on the distribution of vowels in contiguous syllables.

é never precedes a or i and occurs only infrequently before the other vowels, once before u, twice before e, and once before o in a mock word, ngeyow 'the cry of a cat'. It occurs 37 times before another é.

é may follow any vowel except i, but occurs only three times following o and a respectively. It occurs with a high frequenc following e and u, 26 times following e and 20 times following u.

o, another rather infrequent vowel, is less restricted in its vowel-to- vowel distribution than é. It may follow any vowel. But it occurs infrequently before other vowels. It occurs twice preceding a, four times preceding i, six times preceding e, and three times preceding é. It occurs ten times before u, and 74 times before another o.

o is much less restricted in its distribution following other vowels. It is found ten times following a, 42 times following i, 49 times following e, 52 times following u, and three times following é.

These figures confirm the strong bias in the language towards vowel harmony with the infrequent vowels é and o, and they indicate the relative restriction of the distribution of these vowels in terms of occurrences of other contiguous vowels.

The sequence a?e found in a number of bisyllabic roots of the type CVCVC is generally heard in normal speech as a long vowel a. But in slow speech the two vowels are distinct. Informant reaction in writing clearly confirmed the recording of this sequence as a?e. Several

cognate roots in Kalagan, a related language, substitute a single long vowel, a:, for the a?e sequence in Manobo. Examples:

ka?en (in Kalagan ka:n) 'eat'
ga?en (in Kalagan ga:n) 'lightweight'

Vowel Distribution in Reference to Contiguous Consonants:

In our early investigations it appeared that there might be a significant interaction between the infrequent vowel é and certain consonants. A check was made of all the roots containing this vowel. The consonants contiguous to é were listed and their frequency compared with the expected on the assumption that there was no significant interaction, only random association. The results suggest that there is no significant interaction, except perhaps with ?. This could be explained by the fact that both ? (glottal stop) and é occur more frequently in the final syllable of a root than elsewhere.

| CONSONANT | OBSERVED | EXPECTED | CONSONANT | OBSERVED | EXPECTED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| l | 36 | 31 | p | 12 | 11 |
| t | 15 | 23 | n | 6 | 11 |
| k | 24 | 21 | d | 8 | 10 |
| s | 16 | 19 | m | 7 | 8 |
| b | 20 | 17 | y | 3 | 5 |
| g | 9 | 17 | w | 7 | 5 |
| ng | 15 | 12 | h | 5 | 5 |
| ? | 24 | 12 | | | |

It would appear that in general there is no significant interaction between consonants and vowels.

Intonation

BASIC INTONATION PATTERN

This is the most commonly heard pattern. Each word in the utterance, including nonsyllabic words, takes a primary stress. (Stress is nonphonemic and occurs on the penultimate syllable of all words of more than one syllable.) The intonation contour remains level until the penultimate syllable of the final word. Pitch rises on the penultimate syllable, then falls again on the next syllable to the original level unless it is utterance final, in which case it drops yet another level.

3 3 3 2 4
mangay a dutu 'I am going there.'
go I there

3 2 3 3 34
egdalut a daa 'I'll return after a brief stay away.'
return I particle

```
3  2 3 3  4
lumikù a dé              'I'm going home.'
home   I particle

3  2 3   3   4
angayan ko  ya           'Where are you going?'
go      you particle

 3  3 3 3  3  3 2 4
hagdi iya wé dalesan     'That is his house.'
his   the DP house

 3 2 3  4
menabù ka                'Look out! you'll fall.'
fall   you

3  32 3  3  34
egkiiyap a doo           'Yes, I would like it.'
like     I particle

 3 2 3   3  2 4
begayan ku kuna          'I'll give (it) to you.'
give    I  you

 3 3  3   2 4
kuwa ka  kayu            'Get the wood!'
get  you wood

3  3   3   2 3   34
angay ko  wayeg gaa      'Get the water, she says.'
go    you water she.says
```

Morphophonemics

When two vowels are brought together at word boundaries, there may be elision of the final vowel, for example:

anì endà > anindà 'in order that not ...'

kenà di egbeli > kenà digbeli 'where did he buy ...'

This elision helps to confirm the fact that glottal stop is not phonemic in root-initial or word-initial position.

Elision of vowels is mostly restricted to the word endà and the prefix eg-. Vowels brought together at the juxtaposition of other word boundaries do not elide. A nonphonemic glottal stop is interpolated between the two vowels in normal speech as in hauwen di sa utan 'She saw the utan plant.'

There is one exceptional case of syllable elision when endà 'not' and mepion 'good' come together. The resulting expression is usually endapion.

The prefixes ke-, me-, and pe- remain in their basic form when prefixed to roots other than roots that are i initial. When prefixed to a root with i initial, the vowel of the prefix assimilates, becoming i:

-item- > miitem 'black'
-iyap- > egkiiyap 'to like'

This change is very difficult to detect. But evidence for the change is indicated by the reaction of the language assistant.

When the suffix -en is affixed to a vowel-final root, w is interpolated between the root and the affix if the final vowel is a, u, or o. The nonsyllabic y is interpolated in this position if the final vowel is i. (e is never found in a root- or word-final open syllable.)

gebu 'to bark' gebuwen di 'it is barking at ...'
pula 'paddle' pulawen di 'he is paddling the ...'
pila 'how many' mepilawan dé agdaw 'how many days' stay ...'
ikagi 'speak' egseikagiyay da 'they speak together'

A glottal stop is interpolated between a vowel-final root and a following suffix -en, -an, etc., if the final open syllable of the root is -wa or -ba:

kuwa- + -en > kuwaen 'to get'
sugba- + -en > sugbaen 'to boil up in water'
sawa- + -en > sawaen 'wife, to marry'

A phonemic glottal stop is also interpolated between a vowel-initial root and a vowel-final prefix.

se- + -ikagi- + -ay > egseikagiyay 'to speak to each other'

There is only one instance of change in a root induced by affixation. When the root haa 'to see, look' is affixed by -en or -an, the final a of the root dissimilates to u.

haa + -en > hauwen 'to see something'
mehaa- + -an > mehauwen 'to see something'

```
3  2 3 3  4
lumikù a dé              'I'm going home.'
home   I particle

3  2 3   3   4
angayan ko  ya           'Where are you going?'
go      you particle

 3  3 3 3  3  3 2 4
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his   the DP house

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fall   you

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egkiiyap a doo           'Yes, I would like it.'
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begayan ku kuna          'I'll give (it) to you.'
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 3 3  3   2 4
kuwa ka  kayu            'Get the wood!'
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angay ko  wayeg gaa      'Get the water, she says.'
go    you water she.says
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Morphophonemics

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# COTABATO MANOBO ETHNOGRAPHY

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0. Introduction
1. The territorial group
2. Household groups
3. Kinship terms
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5. Marriage restrictions and rules of residence
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8. Discipline
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13. Marriage breakdown
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## 0. Introduction

This study, written in 1957, is a record of observations made by the author and his wife during twelve months of residence among the Cotabato Manobos between July 1955 and October 1956. The investigations were carried out in a monolingual situation. None of the Manobos in the immediate neighborhood spoke English, and those few from more distant areas who spoke English understood it so imperfectly that little or no useful information could be elicited through that medium.

We are indebted to Fred Case who helped us in our understanding of some of the Manobos' customs out of his long association with them. His comments, however, involved us in the same apparent contradictions as we had met in our own investigations and notes made by Grace Wood during her two-week excursion from Tiruray territory where she carried out major studies under a Fulbright grant. Any contradiction of statements is not to be attributed to lack of caution in recording or interpreting the data, but to the unusual conflict between statements of Manobos about their own customs and the facts as actually observed by the outsider.

The Manobo group with which this study is concerned is generally conceded to have one of the least developed cultures of the various cultural communities in the large province of Cotabato. Apart from the nomadic Negrito groups scattered through several islands of the Philippines, they may be the poorest culture in terms of their technology and possessions.

The Cotabato Manobos [at the date of writing] live in almost completely unopened territory centering about the midcoastal municipality of Lebak. There are reports of Manobo settlements as far south as Kiamba, but this center can hardly be regarded as Manobo territory. First contact with Manobos during a survey in June 1955 was made a little up the coast from Melisobong some distance north of Kiamba. The first major settlement seemed to be at Butalil some two hours' journey inland from this point. The group extends northwest up the coastline at least as far north as Lebak. But there is such a concentration of Manobos around this area that it is certain the group must extend some considerable distance further north. The limitation of their borders inland from the coast is not certain. The territory is largely unmapped, but it is said that they extend as far inland as Kidapawan on the main highway dividing the province several days' journey inland. The southern boundaries abut against the territory of the Tboli. In the north contact is made with the Tiruray and a group known as the Tubalay. Inland they make contact with another Manobo group. There are several major Manobo groups in the eastern half of the island of Mindanao. Among different groups already recognized are the Central Bukidnon Manobo, Tigwa Manobo, Agusan Manobo, Ilianen Manobo, Bagobo, and Cotabato Manobo.

Linguistic differences between the groups are probably as great as differences between any other groups of the Philippines. For all practical purposes they may be regarded as distinct groups. It is not known why the term Manobo is applied to such diverse groups, unless perhaps there are certain features of their social organization which justify a common name.

The majority of the Cotabato Manobo live inland from the coast, particular concentrations being reported in the large Kulaman Valley some one to two days' journey inland from Megenaw, and at Bulawan some distance south of Kulaman Valley. Our own observations were made within a relatively restricted area several kilometers from the barrios of Megenaw and Kidayan. After Tagalog and Ilocano and many Muslim settlers occupied most of the arable land along the coast and in the more accessible valleys close to the coast, the Manobo settlements were mostly restricted to the less valuable hill lands at the coast. They laid claim to most of the land further in from the coast. Fear of the Manobos has kept the settlers from moving inland until quite recently. But unless moves are soon made by the government, settlers will soon have taken over most of the valuable land still worked by Manobos.

Muslims, mostly from the Maguindanao-speaking group, comprise by far the biggest proportion of the settlers along the coast. Most of the small local markets are run by these people, and most of the contacts of the Manobos with the outside are made through them. Many Manobo men speak Maguindanao with varying degress of fluency. Few of them speak Tagalog or a Visayan dialect.

It is possible that the culture of the Manobos at the coast may have been influenced by contact with these outside groups. But there is good reason to believe that the settlement in which our observations were made is typically Manobo since there is little association between these Manobos and Muslims. Marriage between the groups is rare, the only known cases being between an outside man and a Manobo woman.

Manobos feel that the Muslims have often dealth harshly with them, and so they harbor strong resentment towards this group with whom they have the greatest contact. There is, in fact, rising resentment as more of their land is taken from them. Though the resentment may not be readily apparent, it is deep-seated. The barrier between the groups is further accentuated by the Muslim prohibition on pig meat. Very few Manobos have adopted the Islamic faith. We met only one Muslim Manobo during our stay.

There is little evidence of mixing of the dialects. The Manobos of our immediate neighborhood from which most of the language material was collected took special pride in teaching us "pure Manobo." They took exception to those who attempted to use any Maguindanao. A checklist of Manobo and Maguindanao words showed remarkably little overlap. Those few identical cognate roots common to both dialects spring from their derivation from a common linguistic stock. Checklists of words from the local group compared with lists collected from inland groups showed no significant difference between the coastal and inland Manobos. There is also so much movement between the coastal and inland groups that any culture contact features would soon diffuse to the more remote groups. Notes made by Grace Wood at Kulaman agree substantially with observations made at the coast.

## 1. The territorial group

The Cotabato Manobo are mostly swidden farmers, scattered about in small groups in the hills and valleys. Manobos do not appear to live in barrios or villages. Aggregations of more than two or three houses close together are very uncommon. They are a people of very simple, loosely integrated culture. The two main factors that account for the loose and apparently little regulated social organization of the Manobos are the poor development of the datu system and the extreme poverty of the people.

The principal major unit seems to be the territorial group, roughly defined as a group of households which for reasons of temporary convenience have settled on a common area of land under the jurisdiction of a datu 'chief'. The boundaries of such territory are not clearly defined, but a territory seems to be a thoroughly valid unit.

Only a portion of this land is under cultivation at any one time. The principal crops are: sweet potato (camote), the perennial staple; rice, a brief seasonal crop; and corn, sown at intervals during the year in land just planted to sweet potato. As each section is harvested within the territory, fresh crops are planted in newly cleared virgin forest or land which has been allowed to revert to undergrowth for a few seasons. Periodically new clearings are made in virgin forest though this practice is being increasingly discouraged by the government under threat of fines. The practice of indiscriminate felling of timber on steep slopes is undoubtedly a harmful practice, but it is so much part of the culture that no easy solution is forthcoming. New clearings are usually made on the periphery of the old clearings, so that despite constant movement into new territory the group seldom moves very far from its old grounds.

The growing family of Datu Mama Undas (his father's group originally), who comprise a typical territorial group, seem to have restricted their movements to one slope and the foothills of a fairly sizeable mountain spur, though periods have been spent further away down at the coast. To all intents and purposes a large area of land is regarded as the territory of Datu Undas. No other family group seems to have raised crops on it. The limits of the land cultivated by previous generations are clearly enough defined by the secondary forest growth. Yearly rice crops mark off the progress of the years within the territory, most events being fixed by association with a particular rice crop.

Rebuilding of houses is frequent due to rapid deterioration from insects and weather and the fact that a house in which a person has died must be burned down. Also houses are frequently moved within the territory because people move them close to wherever their staple crop, sweet potato, is growing. (Sweet potato is seldom grown for more than two successive crops on the same piece of land, so change of residence is frequent.) Houses are flimsily built--with pole supports, bamboo walling often only on one or two sides, light bamboo flooring sometimes lashed, seldom nailed, in place, and thatch or palm leaf roof.

The nucleus of the territorial group is the datu's household. This seems to be the only household permanently tied to the territory. Within the territory claimed by Datu Mama Undas several other families had built their houses. The head of each family laid claim to relationship with Mama. (The relationship was so remote in at least one instance as to be no more than an excuse for settling on Mama's territory.) There were three such families on Mama's land: Mayodé's household (the household being designated by the name of the senior male member); Kardon's household; and Isot's household. A young married man, Kampuwan, son-in-law to an independent man named Kaut, had also built temporarily on Mama's land, but he moved within a few months to a coastal settlement some distance south.

However remote the relationship, each household in entering Mama's territory came within his jurisdiction. Mama presumably gained prestige by adding to the households on his land, but he appeared to be answerable for any crimes committed by them so long as they lived on his land and acknowledged his leadership. It is uncertain whether any formality is involved in the movement of a new family into a datu's territory. As far as can be determined, there is not. A settler presumably knows in advance whether the datu will reject or accept him.

The households within a territory are only loosely associated together. Each cultivates its own plot of ground, though women from several households may harvest sweet potatoes together if the supply of one household is scarce or an unusual demand is made by visitors on the resources of one household. The women may fish together and share the catch. If a pig or deer is killed, the meat is shared. Members of neighboring groups and nearby relatives may receive a portion as well. Apart from this there is little common social activity. It is not surprising that such associations are easily made and soon broken. At best it can be termed an association of convenience.

2. Household groups

A household group is the most stable and close-knit unit among the Manobos. But it is a rather pointed commentary on the relative social instability to discover that a household is by no means a fixed unit.

Since our house had been built on the land of Datu Mama Undas, most of the information about household units is drawn from observations of his household. Before the time of our arrival he had had five wives. Two had died, and one had run away. The two surviving wives still lived with him. They kept separate house on our arrival. The older wife, Pengké, lived with her son Sida in a small house close by Mama's main house. The youngest wife, Kaben, lived with Mama. Mama's eldest son, Igid (by Pengké), lived with his wife, Taiwan, not far away. The rest of the household lived together in the main house with Mama.

After a death in the main house, Mama moved to a new house. The family followed, Igid building another small separate house a few yards away. The older wife, Pengké, moved in with the main household.

Towards the end of our stay Igid built another house on the property of a Muslim datu for whom he was temporarily working. His mother, Pengké, joined him there. His brother Sida divided his time between Igid's house and Mama's. A daughter by Pengké had married a man named Labu from the family group to whom Mama's youngest wife, Kaben, belonged. Labu also lived in the main house with Mama. He associated himself for a period with an elder brother who attempted to set himself up as a datu in his home district. Mama evidently resented this loss to his group and kept Labu's child in his custody. Before long Labu had fallen out with his brother and returned to Mama's household. He was accepted back willingly enough. It seems to be a matter of prestige to keep the members of a household together.

Mama deeply resented the attempts of Labu's eldest brother, Mison, to draw members of his household away. Mison had taken Mama's young son-in-law Kabal on trips on several occasions, though Kabal resented this as well. (Kabal was married to Mama's daughter Ponil; he was also the brother of Kaben, Mama's youngest wife, and so stood in the relation of son-in-law and brother-in-law to Mama.) Kabal seemed to be more or less a free agent, though under some measure of obligation both to his uncle Mison and to Mama. But he spent most of his time with Mama's household. His younger brother, Dalan, also spent a considerable part of his time in Mama's household dividing his stay between it and his mother's place at Lengali some distance away.

Little Melikut, who was the daughter of the deceased elder sister of Kaben, Mama's second wife, also spent considerable time with Mama. She spent some time with her grandmother, Kaben's mother, at Lengali as well.

Other members of the household were Milug and Ugow. Milug was an unmarried sixteen-year-old son of Mama by a deceased wife; he was brother to Ponil. Ugow, the youngest brother of the mother of Milug and Ponil, lived with Mama for most of our year's stay except for a two-month absence at a distant district. He was further related to the group by the marriage

of his elder brother, now deceased, to Mama's niece. Along with Mama's own children he was the most regular member of the group.

All these foregoing consanguineal and affinal relatives of Mama were his household group and as such constituted the nucleus of the territorial group. It was a heterogeneous group made up of sons and daughters, married and unmarried, with two sons-in-law, a daughter-in-law, an unmarried brother-in-law, and two wives. The relationships within the group were rather complicated, Kabal being simultaneously a son-in-law and brother-in-law to Mama, and Ogow a brother-in-law to Mama and brother to a niece of Mama. Labu was son-in-law to Mama and uncle to Mama's wife Kaben.

Relatives arrived for longer or shorter visits during the period of our stay in the locale, but none stayed long enough to be regarded as household members. Members of Labu and Kabal's group frequently enjoyed the hospitality of Mama's house. When Kaben's mother, from the same group, arrived for the birth of Kaben's second child, she stayed for some considerable period afterwards but made frequent trips back to her home territory, taking her daughter-in-law, Ponil, with her on several occasions to help her with her work.

Mayodé's household had as its constant nucleus his two daughters, Deké and Safina, and his son-in-law, Galmak, married to Deké. His sons Delag (unmarried) and Gantangan (married) and another married lad stopped with him occasionally but spent most of their time away from home.

Isot's family comprised only his young wife, Gensal, and her little son Simag by a man to whom she was married at the time Isot eloped with her.

Kardon's family included his old mother, his unmarried sister Limbey, and a married sister, Alen, who, after defecting from her first husband and taking a second, finally returned with the second husband to live in Kardon's household. A young lad, half brother to Kardon through his father, spent a considerable part of his time with this group.

Datu Undas's full brother and sister, each with a separate household, lived within a mile of his house on the slopes of the family hill. These two households had independent lands and lived more or less independently of Mama. The brother, Malayu, aspired to a datuship of his own. Neither of these two family groups could be regarded as part of Mama's household, though they were very closely associated with him and obviously bound to him by strong kinship ties.

The nuclear family (father, mother, and children) is a fairly tight-knit unit. But even this unit is not a strong constant. Even before children's marriages begin to split it, it may be broken by death or desertion. The mortality rate is so high that few reach more than late middle age, and often it is death that splits the family.

Unless a full or otherwise adequate bride price has been handed over for a wife, at her death the children may go to their mother's family. Even if the husband has the option of retaining them, he may prefer to hand the responsibility over to his wife's relatives. Mama's little daughter, Melikut, spent a considerable part of her time with her maternal

grandmother after her mother's death. Mama, however, still laid claim to her.

No rigid law determines the distribution of children on the death of parents. Our houseboys, Mundi and Umpit, two full brothers, lost their parents at an early age and went to live with a young brother of the father. This man maltreated them, and they left to live with a more remote relation, Kaut, who has since cared for them. Though they call him momò 'uncle', he is legally their father, responsible for any of their misdeeds and bound to find wives for them. They in turn are bound to assist him in clearing land and growing crops.

Not all parents are willing to bear responsibility for the maintenance of their family. Kaut's sister bore a daughter to her husband, but the husband refused to settle down and make a proper living for the family. After constant shifting from one locality to another, the wife, with general approval, deserted the man. She and her daughter lived thereafter with Kaut's household. The daughter, Abi, now a young girl of marriageable age, is regarded as the legal daughter of Kaut. Because he has fed her and looked after her, he can lay full claim to any bride price at marriage. The father has forfeited any such claim. This bears out Titiev's contention in "The Importance of Space in Primitive Kinship" (1956) that in many societies "the individuals among whom it (the child) is reared and with whom it shares (at least at the outset) a common residence, comprise what may appropriately be called its natal kin. These are in every sense its nearest relatives, and with them it customarily develops its closest premarital ties of warmth and affection."

3. Kinship terms

Among the Cotabato Manobo a primary division is made between relatives and nonrelatives. Relatives are referred to by the general term duma 'friend' or 'of the same kind of nature'; nonrelatives are etaw 'unrelated persons'. The fuller term liyu etaw is sometimes used implying a person of another species or kind. (The root liya is used of species and as a verb means to walk behind or on the outside of something or someone.) How many stages removed a person must be to be an etaw beyond the limits of the duma group is not certain. In the case of people very distantly related, recognition of a relationship is a matter of convenience. A relationship can usually be established should a family wish to live in the territory of a particular datu, or should a person require temporary hospitality. In most cases, however, the people make a clear distinction between their duma and etaw.

Among one's natal kin the terms emà and inay are used exclusively for one's true father and mother respectively. Those belonging to ego's own generation (cousins and siblings) go by the general term telehadi irrespective of sex. Within this group girls refer to the males as maama 'brother', and males refer to females as tebay 'sister'. Within the sexes a younger brother will refer to an older brother as his kakay, a term implying a measure of respect. The older will refer to the younger as hadi. The same terms are used by sisters, both true and classificatory, among

themselves. The terms may also be used between the sexes. (Mama's older sister, Begendò, often refers to Mama as her hadi.)

Natal kin of the father and mother's generation are called momò 'uncle' and inà 'aunt'. These same terms are used as terms of respect when a younger person addresses an older person with whom he is moderately well acquainted but with whom he claims no relationship.

The generation below ego (including one's true children and children of one's tebay or maama) go by the general term anak 'child, offspring'. To distinguish between true children and nephews and nieces, the term anak dibaluy is used of the nephews and nieces. Literally this means 'children on the other side'. (dibaluy is generally used as a location indicator: dutu dibaluy 'on the other side of the hill', etc.) The term momò is also used for this group, irrespective of sex.

Those two generations above or below ego are referred to as bébé. It is not certain whether, in referring to those two generations above, bébé is restricted to the true grandparents or includes also the classificatory brothers and sisters of the true grandparents. It is fairly certain that bébé used of those two generations below includes both true and classificatory grandchildren.

In reference to those who are three generations removed, bébé lulud 'knee' is used. Among the Cotabato Manobo this is the only use of body parts to describe particular generations (said to be a feature of Philippine kinship systems) although it is possible more distant generations may be recognized in similar fashion, if they are recognized at all.

The division between kakay and hadi seems to be of considerable importance. Most men are immediately able to identify other natal relatives as kakay 'older true or classificatory sibling' or hadi 'younger true or classificatory sibling'; they rarely refer to them by the less specific term telehadi. The children of a hadi always refer to cousins who are the children of their father's kakay as their own kakay, even though they may be younger.

The following terms are used among relatives by marriage. sawa is 'spouse' (of either sex). Parents-in-law go by the term nugangan. Brothers-in-law call each other epél or less commonly ebéy. ibò is used between in-laws of different sex of the same generation. A husband will refer to all his wife's sisters as ibò. Brothers of the husband will refer to his wife also as ibò, but they do not use this term for the sisters of the wife. A sister of the wife will also refer to the husband as ibò, and the wife will refer to her husband's brother as ibò. A son- or daughter-in-law is called awa. Unrelated men married to women who are sisters call each other ido.

4. Personal, formal, and friendship names

The existence of a classificatory term usually implies a restriction in the use of personal names between the persons so related. It seems, however, that all may use the personal name of a natal relative or a relative by marriage of a lower generation. Telehadi of the same generation and spouses are also quite free to use each other's personal name.

The use of one's grandparent's personal name seems to be especially proscribed. In the early part of our stay younger boys would not give such a name but relayed it to us through a friend. They were always careful to whisper in passing on such information. As they became accustomed to us they were less reluctant to volunteer such names directly. Older folk were less reluctant to give such information. Just how strict this tradition is is not certain. The initial reluctance, and later willingness, to volunteer such information complicates the issue. However, a person of one generation would rarely use the personal names of relatives of a higher generation in direct address.

Manobos were also reluctant to give their own names. A name was usually relayed to a questioner through a friend. This reluctance seemed to wear off as people became accustomed to us.

A young unmarried man is censured if he uses the personal name of an unrelated unmarried girl in calling to her from a distance, though he may use it in normal conversation with her in a group. It is said that untoward use of her name by the young man might jeopardize her chances of marriage.

The head of a family is usually addressed or referred to as sawa i 'husband of ...' or emà i 'father of ...' (usually of the first child). The first child is referred to as the lebi lawa. Mama was generally called sawa i Kaben 'husband of Kaben' (Kaben was his youngest wife) or emà i Idat 'father of Idat' (his first child, now deceased).

A person may have several personal names apart from his family name, though only one may be used in everyday conversation. Many of these names seem to be chosen randomly, often from some feature associated with the birth of the person. One of Mama's daughters was named Melikut ('difficult'). Hers was a very difficult delivery, and the mother died soon after. Another son, Isenin ('Monday'), was born on Monday but had acquired two other names before he was more than two months old. His full sister was called with equal frequency Tilihan or Legiwey. Another child in Mayodé's household was named after the doctor who gave it a yaws injection. Many of the people are named after birds or animals, e.g., Kabal ('flying possum'), Ekok (an owl species). It is possible that one name is kept a particular secret, at least from strangers, but there is no positive evidence for this.

An abbreviated form of the personal name is often used when close friends address each other; it is an expression of the friendly relations existing between the various age groups and between members of the same community. Examples of abbreviation are Olok (from Polok), Undi (from Mundi), and Ampu (from Kampuwan). Such abbreviation is described by the root lamas in the following expression: Amuk mehidu sa Mama etaw,

eglamasen. 'If Mama is very much liked by a person, he [his name] is abbreviated.' (Use of the full name is described by the root selepang 'to go the full distance'.)

Nicknames are quite common among people of the same locality. Ugow was commonly called Gebug, a name considered quite ridiculous by his fellows. Igid's name by slight alteration became Iged, the name of a lizard species. Kaut, the uncle of our two houseboys, took his name from his blotched hands.

More general terms are often used between friends. Male friends regardless of age call each other akay or madi. Friends among women refer to each other as owé. These terms are also used between the sexes.

adug 'boy' and okon 'girl' are terms of address by an elder to a younger person, usually unmarried. ting and ti are terms of address (male, female) by a parent to a child or another person, using a more intimate form. The difference is in the degree of intimacy or personal relationship. Very young children are called batà 'child'.

A special kind of friendship name used among the Manobos is known as luas. The following expressions refer to this:

> Amuk bayi igluas, kuwaen da ngadan maama. 'If girls take friendship names, they take the name of a male.'
>
> Linuasan ké, si Sida, bayi Kipunget, si Sini. 'We, Sida and I, have taken for our luas the name of a girl, Sini, from Kipunget.'

The luas system seems to ease the restrictions on the use of personal names between persons whose relationship normally forbids the use of such names. But since it is also used very commonly between unrelated friends, it cannot be said to have developed primarily to this end.

A common name is used exclusively and reciprocally between two friends of the same or opposite sex. Boys may choose the name of a girl, or girls the name of a boy. But any name may be chosen. Personal names are always used alone, even though a person may have several personal names. Luas friendship names are usually double forms which are not a combination of two personal names. Examples:

malang lawa (used between husband and wife, Isot and Gensal)
legà kukum (used between two unrelated friends, Kabal and Umpit)
nadeg kenogon (used between two unrelated boys, Milug and Mundi)
si tulis beliyan (used between an unrelated girl and boy, Kabal and Deké)
bongò lukes (used between a boy and his sister-in-law, Umpit and Deké)
sini (used between two unrelated boy friends, Mundi and Sida)

The following relations may use luas names between them: ego and his sister-in-law or brother-in-law; ego and his wife, brothers, and sisters; ego and his uncles and aunts. (It is proper for the uncle or aunt to take the initiative.)

Ego may not use a friendship name with grandparents or parents or parents-in-law. It would seem to be a system which operates for the most part within generations rather than between generations. The fact that ego may not use such names with his grandparents, parents, or parents-in-law stresses the peculiar relationship which exists between ego and these relatives. The strictest prohibition on the use of names other than kinship terms seems to exist between ego and his direct ascendants.

5. Marriage restrictions and rules of residence

The only fully approved marriages in Manobo society are those arranged between etaw 'unrelated people'. Most marriages are arranged by the parents, the young people having no final say. But there is no doubt that many young people develop a secret affection for each other which may sometimes receive parental approval. It is said that the girl's family takes the initiative in seeking a husband. This was stated by some Manobos and by Fred Case as well. Grace Wood noted such reports but doubted them. The evidence is conflicting. It seems more usual for the boy's family to take the initiative. In most discussions on this point the Manobos have said that the boy's family looks for a girl. But the girl seems to be taken to the boy's family once there are signs that his family have prepared the bride price items. This act may perhaps be aimed at speeding up the payment of these items, at least the advance payments. On the other hand, it is not unlikely that the girl's family does sometimes take the initiative. This might be a holdover from the past with greater traditional sanction.

Like all societies, incest is completely prohibited. Legend holds that all nature would rise up in catastrophic protest at such an event. Certainly there is no likelihood of marriage between true brothers and sisters. It is not considered right for parallel cousins (rated as classificatory brothers and sisters) to marry. But rules are relaxed in many cases, and marriages of cousins apparently do not come under the category of incest. The practice is not encouraged, however. Parents should never undertake to arrange such marriages, which at best are only tolerated if the young people take the initiative. The exact status of this sort of marriage in Manobo society is not known. Some have said that such marriages must be made right by the datu of the couple, who in some simple ceremony, after payment of a fee or fine, expiates their guilt. Others say that the issue from such marriages are bound to be ill fated.

A measure of the social disapproval of marriage by cousins is the treatment of the first baby born to cousins. Our houseboy confided that the first child of such marriages was exposed to die after birth, but subsequent children were reared. The first child presumably was atonement for the act of cousin marriage. Many Manobos would not admit to this practice when questioned. They are well aware that abandoning babies to die is now punishable by the government, so they rarely refer to this or such aspects of the culture as observing a baby's umbilical cord during the period of necrosis to determine whether the baby has a good pused 'umbilical cord' or a bad one. (What constitutes a good or bad cord is not certain.) The people insist that a child born with a bad pused will not live long. Should it become sick, it is fatalistically assumed that it will die. In the past it would have been left exposed in a pit. Should a

bypasser take pity on it he could adopt the abandoned baby into his own house. Failing this, it was left to die.

The rules of residence at marriage contribute to the wide scattering of group members. Unless a boy's family can pay the full bride price, or a substantial part of it, he is obliged to live with the girl's family. Obung was a lad bound by this rule to live with Kaut. Umpit, Kaut's ward, was another so bound; on marrying Mayodé's daughter Safina, he was required to live in Mayodé's household.

Representatives of most families are therefore distributed widely through Manobo territory. Any Manobo traveler may be sure of hospitality from some relative en route. There are always many peripheral members of a territorial group constantly coming and going. The geographic spreading of relatives, with movements back and forth, undoubtedly contributes to the homogeneity of the group and the preservation of those features of language and custom which mark it off from neighboring groups.

It is presumably the ambition of most young men and their families to pay off the bride price, so the young man can be free to return to his own family. Judging from the case of Igid (Datu Undas's eldest son), efforts are made for the eldest boy of a family to remain with his father to ensure continuity of the household group, especially such a group as Datu Undas's, where the head lays claim to being datu. But not all men wish to return to their original group. Galmak, Mayodé's son-in-law, is happy to live on with Mayodé, though apparently he is free to leave.

It is said that a son-in-law is not bound to live with his father-in-law if the man is constantly moving from place to place. To lay claim to a son-in-law's service a man must apparently occupy and work his own land.

## 6. Social events

Among the Maguindanaon and other Philippine groups marriage sets off a round of activities, but among the Manobos a wedding seems to go almost unnoticed. Very few relatives gather for a wedding, and as far as is known there is no feast. (This is reflected in Manobo legends, many of which finish with the marriage of the main characters.) Bride price items are exchanged, betel nut is exchanged, and the ceremony is over. The essence of the marriage ceremony seems to be the exchange of betel nut between the couple. Sleeping together for a night finally seals the affair. Our houseboy, shortly before our departure, was married with no ceremony. He spent the night with the bride in the house of one of her relatives some two hours' journey away, in company with her brother, a friend of the boy.

No ceremony marks a baby's birth. The women say--and there is no evidence to the contrary--that they generally give birth by themselves in the forest or away from the rest of the group.[1] There is no celebration of the event.

At death the body usually is placed in a hollowed-out specially sealed log, and relatives are called to pay their final respects. Should the deceased have previously planted a rice crop, it is harvested and then consumed at a feast when the relatives gather. This seems to be the only occasion when relatives are under obligation to gather together, and the only occasion when there is anything approximating a ceremonial feast. It is believed that evil will befall the group if any of the dead person's rice is kept over for normal use.

There is no ceremony of initiation into adulthood that we could discover. Filing of the teeth and tattooing, marks of seniority, are carried out casually with no obvious ceremony. Nor are there any other major social events which might integrate the loose conglomeration of territorial groups.

The only type of dance ever mentioned by the people is the atang. (An atang was put on once for our benefit.) It is essentially restricted to two antagonists each trying by furious gesture and war cry to terrify the other into submission before a fight. Now that feuds more and more are settled peacefully, at least near the coast, an atang is sometimes staged by a single individual for entertainment only.

The principal forms of entertainment[2] drawing more than a single territorial group or household together are: the settling of disputes at an antang 'meeting' during the day time, and the telling of tegudon 'historical doctrine' at night. But neither can be regarded as playing a significant role in integrating the various groups. At most only a few neighboring groups are involved. Such events are not scheduled. An antang is staged whenever disputes arise; a tegudon, when some storyteller happens to arrive in the district. They are usually held indoors, and since the houses are always small this imposes an immediate restriction on the numbers who may be present.

An actor at an antang is a tege-antang, a man who knows how to speak. He may or may not be a datu. Each principal in a dispute takes to himself such a spokesman, usually a senior relative. On the few occasions when disputes were settled while we were resident in the district, a sizeable group of interested and some purely curious onlookers gathered together. They were allowed some option of joining in or making comments. But most of the proceedings were carried out by the spokesmen who presented the facts for and against and drew on various precedents for the settlement of the dispute.

The tegudon is the more important form of entertainment. These accounts, which are sometimes sung, are essentially religious; they deal with such things as creation and the supernatural. Since current events may be included in a tegudon, it is sometimes hard to draw the line between fact and legend. But for the most part a tegudon deals with the legendary past (viewed as fact by the Manobos). Superstitution seems to demand that the stories be told only at night, although the normal routine of daily chores would make it almost impossible in any case to stage a duyuy 'song session' during the day. It is not certain that all the singers are priests, but it seems reasonably certain that a tegudon at least originates with a priest.

Every tegudon has the same main characters in common, and there seem to be many different versions of the same tegudon. There is plenty of latitude for developing new legends, since a priest is said to enjoy a constant succession of dreams in his lifetime.

The priest (beliyan), by virtue of his supposed knowledge of the supernatural and his claims to healing powers and the discernment of spirits, enjoys a greater measure of prestige than most other Manobos. This prestige presumably extends beyond the boundaries of the territorial group of which the man may be the datu. But while generally respected, there is no evidence to suggest that he wields any great authority. Each priest seems to operate independently of other priests and his status does not derive from them. He claims to have special dreams at night when his spirit travels to the realm of Nemula, the great being who created the world and life.

The priests are a limited group. (We contacted very few during our stay among the Manobos.) The office of priest is not hereditary. It is said to be conferred by a vision. Sometimes a youth is told by a spirit in a vision that he is to become a priest. Our houseboy, Sida, told us that his father had been led into the forests by the spirits as a boy and this had ensured his future status as a beliyan 'priest'.

## 7. The datu system

A datu is the head of a territorial group, with little authority outside this group. For the most part his own people are the only ones willing to recognize his authority. Few young boys would admit that men other than their own datus had any claim to a datu's rank. Datu Migted, who laid claim to full authority in his own territory, seemed to command little respect in Datu Undas's territory. His unusual mannerisms usually provoked youngsters from other groups to considerable mirth. Datus referring to other datus not related to them were by no means reluctant to disparage them, though they might defer somewhat to them if they were present. On the other hand, those who might claim any relationship to a datu of more than usual authority were not backward in pressing their claims to such relationship.

With the territorial groups so small and relatively unstable, the authority of the Manobo datu does not approximate that of datus from more rigidly organized societies. Among the Kalagans a datu could be a tyrant if he were so disposed. His office was more or less hereditary. His claim to the possessions of any of his followers absolved him from any need to work himself.

Among the Manobos, however, no man could afford to act the tyrant. His following would disappear overnight. His office does not appear to be in any way hereditary though one datu in speaking to Grace Wood made the following comments: "A datu is of higher blood. He leads his people unless they are hard-headed. He gives instruction to the people about planting. If someone is lazy, he tells him to work for his living. He talks in the antang ('meeting'). If he has followers who work for him, he gives them

something. If a person is to be fined he must come to the datu, and if the datu finds a reason for his guilt he can be fined."

This statement, apart from the reference to higher blood, is fairly consistent with the facts. The reference to higher blood probably springs, as Miss Wood suggests, from Maguindanaon (Muslim) influence where distinctions of blood are recognized.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics workers from Kalagan and Tboli territory on a preliminary survey of the southern section of Manobo territory were surprised by the fact that Manobo datus work their own farms. But this is wholly consistent with their office. Since a datu can lay no claim to another's possessions, he must maintain his claim to office by his own industry.

What little wealth a datu can hope to acquire must be obtained by trading since crops are rarely produced in sufficient excess to market.[3] Money has little value; horses are the most valued and sought after form of wealth. There are so few horses, however, that a man must possess more than the usual measure of business acumen and bargaining skill to acquire them. A man who has acquired many horses is marked as a leader among the people. Manobos say that a man achieves the rank of datu by horse trading. Horses and large brass gongs (agong) figure prominently in the bride price. A large family, with several daughters as well as sons, may also contribute considerably to a man's wealth and further his claims to datuship.

Against this background it is surprising to discover the existence of such a high office as sultan among the Manobos. The term is scarcely Manobo; it strongly suggests outside Moro (Muslim) influence. The office has been vacant for some time since the death of Sultan Dekiyas (abbreviated to Kiyas), whose authority was said to have taken in most of the Manobos in the populous Kulaman Valley.

During 1956 efforts were made to fill the office. Three datus claimed relationship with the deceased sultan, though their exact relationship was not clear. The sultan had only one son, still too young to take office. So three aspirants, Mamu, Kalulung, and Dalungan, laid strong claim to the position.

Mamu impressed many by his confident bearing as though used to exercising authority. His claim to office by virtue of his relationship to the sultan was less convincing than that of the others, but his personal capacity for leadership and his acquired wealth made him a highly favored contender. Dalungan was well regarded as an orator. The rank of these three datus was recognized at the coast, though opinion was divided as to the relative importance of their position. Most showed deference in their presence, but some were not willing to admit them any more authority than that of a lesser local datu.

It seems that as long as the office of datu brings credit to the group as a whole the Manobos are keen to admit the importance of such men. But should their own interests conflict with theirs, they are not so willing to make any concessions to them.

Of lesser importance than sultan is the office of councilor (kunsiyal). Below councilors come the lesser titled datus, whose authority is restricted to very small groups.

A man who has acquired an office of authority has that authority recognized by the conferring of a gelal 'title'. Some say that sultan is a gelal term. But it seems rather that a gelal is a new name, not a term for his office--a name used by others to indicate particular respect.

The existence of such a graded system of authority seems strangely out of keeping with Manobo tradition. According to Fred Case, whose lifetime of experience with the people qualifies him to speak on the subject, a man is elected to an office by other datus if he has proved himself an able leader. While a system of election is not inconsistent with Manobo culture, it is still surprising that a society so loosely organized should have developed a system of election or a way to instigate and supervise such an election.

It seems highly probable that the gelal system is controlled by outside groups. In October 1956 the three principal claimants to the office of sultan made a special trip to the local coastal barrio of Kegenaw. Each one canvassed the local officials for their support. It would appear from general comments that these authorities, although they undoubtedly made allowance for the wishes of the Manobo datus, were the principals in the matter of election. Each aspirant was prepared to pay a considerable sum to these officials should he gain the office.

The ready acceptance of the gelal system suggests that it is not altogether alien to Manobo culture. Among the Manobos there are those with a desire for greater authority than mere leadership of a territorial group. But the chances of acquiring such authority, and of maintaining it, are extremely remote in a society like theirs. Backing by an outside authority with a measure of official government sanction supplies the means to this end. But it is not achieved without cost. The man who desires to make use of such means for enhancing his authority must first have acquired more than the ordinary share of wealth, making him a logical claimant to such an office.

The use of the term sultan and the system of appointment from the coast suggest that today it is primarily a system imposed from the outside, ostensibly for the maintenance of law and order within the group. But whether the outside system merely strengthened an existing system or imposed a totally new system is uncertain.

Titled officials do not supersede the autonomy of the territorial groups but are entitled to deal only with transgressions of the law of the outside authority. Wrongs not recognized by the outside authority are settled by the Manobos independently of this system. But it seems probable that those with the greatest prestige, especialy those with a gelal, are also called on to settle internal disputes that are not settled by feud.

A datu enjoys certain prerogatives within his own territory. If a dispute arises between members of his group, he arbitrates, decides the settlement to be paid, and collects any fine. It is said that if two people from closely related groups marry, the marriage may be permitted to stand if the datu is brought in to set things right. He receives the usual fee and is said to take an agong from each offending party. The gongs are then taken to sea and dropped in the water to expiate the guilt.[4] Should two people enter into a violent dispute the datu will intervene. As a final settlement the guilty party, under the datu's supervision, presents a sword to the offended party, saying words like these: "If I have not fulfilled my obligations, you can kill me with this."

Should a member of the datu's group give offence to someone outside the group, the two parties or principals involved take to themselves spokesmen who argue the case between them at a public meeting. The spokesmen are usually senior relatives or friends of the principals.

A datu is responsible for the misdemeanors of those under him. Kaut, the uncle and foster father of our three houseboys, was responsible for their wrongs. A nephew of Migted, whose ward he had become on the death of his father, brother to Migted, eloped with a married woman from another territory. The dispute was settled by outside authorities and Migted stood the fine. When a girl whose family had settled on Datu Undas's territory eloped with a man, Datu Undas was responsible for the return of the bride price originally paid for her though the girl was not living on his territory at the time of her first marriage. The datu presumably acts as the representative of the whole group in standing the fine.

Respect for datus and elders seems to be enjoined by Manobo tradition. It is reported by Grace Wood that a man who walks between two datus who are talking is heavily fined. Disrespect for elders is also said to be punished by supernatural means. For all this, discipline within the group seems to be very lax, and few datus can claim more allegiance than their followers are willing to give them.

## 8. Discipline

Lack of discipline is characteristic of the immediate family circle. Children are almost totally undisciplined. Babies and youngsters may cry incessantly to the distraction of the rest of the family without rebuke. A youngster may go into the most severe tantrums and even threaten its parents without reproof. Among Kalagans, children are frequently thrashed for disobedience, but in the twelve months of our residence among the Manobos we saw no thrashings although the behaviour of many of the children would have brought instant and severe punishment among the Kalagans.

Older children are very lax in obeying the commands of their seniors. Only those under the obligations of affinal ties seem bound to obey. A mother may call incessantly for a son to do some chore without receiving so much as a response acknowledging the command. Datu Mama Undas was rarely able to command his sons to do a task, even if it meant his doing it himself instead.

Along with this lack of discipline is a remarkable freedom of behavior between young people and their elders, and between young people of both sexes. A restrained form of horseplay between younger and older persons was by no means uncommon; either the younger or older person might take the initiative. Affection between members of a family is usually genuine and open.

On the debit side, there is sometimes a deplorable lack of respect for age. Kaut, an older independent man, the classificatory kakay ('older brother') of Isot, entered into a dispute with Isot on a matter affecting payment of a debt to one of Kaut's relatives. In an attempt to settle the dispute outside the usual channels, he became involved in a heated argument with Isot. Both men came to blows and had to be forcibly separated to prevent injury. In the discussion of the matter over the following few days, Kaut took extreme exception to Isot's attack, insisting that his age demanded much more respect. Public opinion backed him, though some conceded that Kaut had no right to meddle in the matter. But Isot had apparently committed no major crime in attacking Kaut, and the matter was soon forgotten.

9. Age and sex divisions

There is no clear-cut distinction between age groups, a fact which might be expected from the freedom of behavior between younger and older members. We saw no signs of an initiation ceremony, although at a certain age young people of both sexes have their teeth filed and blackened, their bodies tattooed, and they begin to chew the betel nut. There is no obvious ceremony associated with this transition, but we noticed that our houseboys on two occasions refrained from eating with us for a period although they had always eaten with us without any reserve before this. They insisted that this had no significance and after a period of some weeks returned to the old schedule.

On the houseboys' return to the usual schedule, we noticed that each carried new tattoos. (There are a wide range of tattoos each with its own name; women are most heavily tattooed on their legs, males on their arms and chest.) As far as we could determine, neither the tattooing nor the filing of teeth, which they had had done previously, was accompanied by any ritual. Anyone with the necessary skill can perform the work.[5]

As girls approach marriageable age, they often adorn themselves in bead necklaces, tinkling anklets, and bangles. These are usually handed down from elder married sisters. Young men approaching marriage seem to be under some obligation to plant their own farms and take life a little more seriously than usual. But no great expenditure of effort seems to be involved.

Prior to marriage a bachelor may wear a choker necklace. Following marriage he may continue to keep his hair bobbed and wear rings through his ears. But an older married man who presumably has settled down and contemplates no further marriage usually sheds his bob and earrings.[6] It is also uncommon for the older women to adorn themselves, though one woman of doubtful character did.

While freedom in everday behavior blurs the distinction between age groups, superstitions do make a distinction between them. Young people are not supposed to eat the back portions of fowls, pigs, or deer until they have married and had their first child. This prohibition is most rigidly observed. Very young children are not supposed to be out after the sun begins to set. They are threatened with punishment by the busaw 'evil spirits'. Only young people sing the legends known as the kagi't busaw 'voice of the spirits'. We often noticed that youngsters for no particular reason laughed at the sight of certain creatures or at the mention of their names. Our houseboy, Sida, consistently laughed at the mention or sight of a limegu 'worm'. Children watching toy animals on our verandah usually laughed at them or were prompted to do so by the adults with the statement sibelow, a reference to punishment by lightning. Grace Wood referred to a similar phenomenon, saying that particular respect is enjoined to animals. Lack of respect, for example, treating them as humans, is said to be punished by lightning.

10. Division of labor

The most significant feature of the division of labor is that the datu works in the same capacity as any other male of the group. Likewise, there is no clear-cut division of labor between the two sexes other than that conditioned by natural limitations.

Men's tasks include the heavy, dangerous, seasonal labor, clearing and burning off new land for crops, and revenge. The everyday household chores fall to the women. Few women--from young girls to the very old--are exempt from these duties, though a woman with a young child may be temporarily excused. Women, for the most part, plant sweet potato, pound rice, and cook meals. Men are not ashamed to assist, though they generally undertake such work only as a diversion. Both men and women carry babies on trek. The women carry the heavy basketloads, leaving the men free to carry their spears or swords. Yet it is not uncommon for a man to carry a basketload slung from his head like a woman.

As between age groups, superstitions draw a line between the sexes. The making of the poisonous brew kamendag is a well-guarded secret and must not even be discussed in the presence of a woman. A woman may not be present when men are making metal ornaments; it is believed that the moulds would break should a woman be present. Women make the earthenware pots, and the potter herself must be the first one to eat a meal cooked in a new pot; serious consequences would follow were a male to eat this first portion, known as ti.

The women do not seem to play any role in the settlement of disputes or in arrangements of marriage. Men are always the spokesmen.

Members of either sex may sing the Manobo folktales (telaki). But only the men sing the tegudon, the religious teachings.

11. The economy

The Manobos are swidden farmers. Some groups seem to excel as hunters and prefer to devote their time to hunting rather than to slash-and-burn agriculture, but all must cultivate sufficient land for the bare essentials. Those who specialize as farmers may cultivate a much larger area than others. But at best their methods are primitive and scarcely guaranteed to bring good returns. Many of them cultivate steep slopes, a practice which tends to cause deterioration of the soil, even though the rapid growth of weeds stops severe erosion.

With consistent rainfall crop yields are generally adequate to supply the territorial group with the necessary staple, sweet potato. Rice is strictly seasonal and soon consumed. There is rarely sufficient excess to market, and rat plagues have often wiped out the crop. Corn planted along with sweet potato in new ground is very soon consumed. For the most part the Manobos have no excess crops to sell at the local coastal markets. Those living at Kulaman plant larger acreages of rice and sell a considerable portion at the coast, but they are more or less at the mercy of the literate traders from other groups. Between rice crops many of the men move from Kulaman to the coast to work for the settlers.[7] Some are well treated, but few are adequately paid, often earning no more than a few clothes.

Grace Wood commented that only the coastal Manobos have pillows, mosquito nets, and mats. But even at the coast few families are so fortunate. The average household boasts only a few cooking pots, homemade bamboo water-carrying cylinders, betel nut boxes, and bows and arrows. Few own more than one change of clothing.[8] Among Kalagans most own a set of visiting clothes besides their ragged work clothes. But a Manobo going visiting usually borrows his clothes from the best-dressed member of his group, leaving the lender to wear the borrower's ragged clothes in the meantime.

This poverty of possessions could be remedied in part if the people were in any way disposed to practice the arts and crafts of neighboring peoples. The Blaans and Tboli weave excellent and durable cloth in intricate patterns from abaca fibre and make it into trousers, blankets, and other forms of clothing. But the Cotabato Manobo of the last generation wore G-strings only, and today they wear whatever cast-off clothing they can borrow from each other or earn at the coast.

Although they claim to make mats and pots, we observed no one making them during our stay. (The same comment was made by Grace Wood after her stay at Kulaman.) There is little incentive to manufacturing or excess crop production due to the system of request exchange, which is open to considerable abuse. A man who has earned a good set of clothes will not keep it for long once he has moved in among his friends again. A good crop will soon be consumed if a horde of relatives request more than temporary hospitality.

Even if they were to produce goods for market, there are no main roads through their territory by which they could transport them there. They have no organized markets of their own and carry out most of their trade through coastal barrio markets run by Muslims.

Manobos earn little or nothing from the outside groups. Yet they must constantly bring in expensive bride price items manufactured by other groups: gongs, swords, betel nut boxes, etc. For, in spite of the fact that the Manobos are one of the poorest groups in the Philippines, relatively exorbitant bride prices are asked within their own group.

12. Marriage arrangements

The setting of a bride price involves considerable discussion between the male members of the two concerned families preceding a final decision. The price is reckoned in terms of units of sunggudan 'bride price item'. The number of units varies. Some say it is as low as five for a woman previously married to another man. It may go as high as thirty units for a well-favored maiden. One or more horses, several gongs, some large betel nut containers (up to an arm span across the mouth), swords, and articles of clothing (ginis) must be included. About five of the major units must be laid down before the marriage may be consummated. Following the marriage the spouses' two families become involved in a lifelong series of reciprocal payments.

After ten units have been paid, the family of the girl is obligated to return five units. These units are referred to as the lobing 'dress' of the girl. The units retained by her family are known as the ikam 'mat' of the father. Further payments by the boy's family are divided in the same manner. There seems to be no end to the system. Superstition ensures this. It is said that a full payment of the bride price to the girl's family would result in the death of the head of the family. To forestall this her father immediately returns one of the items, thereby bringing the boy's family under further bride price obligations.

Even after the bride price has been met, the girl's family will bring a gift of a horse or some other item to the boy's family at regular intervals. Such a payment is no longer regarded as a sunggudan but is called simply tamuk 'trade item'. The boy's family is under obligation to exchange items of equal value.

The birth of a child to the couple, especially a daughter, places the boy's family under further obligation to the girl's family. Several more units must be paid before the child is released to the boy's group. Some say that the girl's family brings a horse and that the boy's family reciprocates with some other bride price items, but it is reasonably certain if this is so that the girl's family comes out on the credit side. There is a notable tendency to exaggerate the value of the bride price. It is obviously ridiculous to suggest that a horse is involved at the birth of each daughter; there are far too few horses to go around. But the fact that a horse is mentioned at least establishes the principle of further payments as children are born. Should the boy's family be unable to pay at once, the girl's family may be content to wait until the baby (if a girl) has grown

and married. Bride price items handed over for her at that time will then be shared out with the mother's family.

Death of a wife does not immediately release the husband's family from its bride price commitments. One or two more sunggudan still must be handed over.

Marriage binds two unrelated families together in a form of lifelong economic interdependence. A marriage also binds the various relatives of the boy's group together under a joint obligation. No territorial group can hope to find all the necessary sunggudan at the time the marriage is first proposed. The father of the groom (or foster father) is primarily responsible for finding the required items, but he expects to be assisted by the groom's older brothers and by other closely related kin. Few are ever in a position to give immediate help. Many will not help, particularly the more distantly related kin, unless there is a reasonable chance of reciprocal assistance when a member of their immediate circle wishes to marry. The capacity of any family to reciprocate can generally be rated by the number of unmarried girls in that family.

In cases of a boy's family not being able to meet the bride price, a boy who wants to marry may enter into a contract with a Maguindanaon to pay his bride price. To do so involves him in a lifetime contract with a group whose dealings involve customs different from his own and put him at a great disadvantage.

Failing such a desperate expedient or the availability of funds within the group, bride price items can be obtained by marrying off some girl of the boy's group. The proposed marriage of Datu Undas's youngest son, Sida, touched off such a scheme. His other son, Igid, had some time previously married the first of two wives. This wife soon ran off to a man at Kulaman. Nothing was immediately done about it though some bride price had been handed over by Igid. The offending man already had one wife, an attractive young lass, Malegan. Shortly before plans for Sida's marriage became generally known, Malegan was abducted by Datu Undas. How much force, if any, was employed in this abduction is not known. The fact that there was no counter raid suggests that Datu Undas's rights to the girl were recognized as valid. It was generally known that Datu Undas hoped to gain bride price items by marrying Malegan off to some other man. So plans were shortly implemented for Kaut's ward, Umpit, to marry Malegan. But Kaut had no immediate reserve of trade items to lay with the datu. Soon after, Kaut's adopted daughter, Abi, was sent down the coast to a man who had already asked for her but had not yet paid the necessary first sunggudan. It was hoped by this move that payment might be expedited. But nothing came of it. Abi returned, Umpit could not be married to Malegan, and Sida's marriage was temporarily delayed. Things were later complicated when Malegan ran away without reference to Datu Undas and married a man of her own choosing.

Such is marriage among the Manobos, a constant effort to find wives for sons and to marry daughters off to gain bride price items, a constant intrigue to make the better of a bargain, and an interminable series of plans and excursions to collect the bride price items.

13. Marriage breakdown

The breakdown of marriages is extremely common, more the rule than the exception. In the span of two years Datu Undas's wife, Kaben, left him and married Kardon; Alen, Kardon's sister, ran away from her first husband and married a second; Malegan was abducted from Kulaman; and Abi from Kaut's family was involved in a brief marital mix-up for which both parties were fined. Before our arrival in the area one of the datu's wives had run away, and so too had his son Igid's first wife. Igid's second wife was also briefly abducted to hasten up his payment of the final bride price items. Kaut's eldest daughter had run away from her first husband and married a young man, Kampuwan. Isot, now happily married to Gensal, had run off with her while she was still the wife of an older man.

Many factors contribute to the breakup of marriage. A husband may be unwilling to support his wife or settle down. The wife may merely take a dislike to him. The husband may be lax in paying up his bride price, and so the girl's family seeks a more reliable suitor for her. It was claimed that Alen's first husband had not paid up his bride price. This was sufficient justification for her defection and marriage to another man. Two people may develop an attraction for each other and arrange to run off. It was said that Kaben, Datu Undas's wife, had for some time been attracted to Kardon, who had finally returned the interest. Most of the datu's relatives had apparently been aware of this for some time but, partly out of sympathy for the girl (much younger than the datu) and partly out of fear of the datu's reaction, had not alerted him. When his suspicions were finally roused, the girl was kept under careful observation. But then in the end couple eloped.

From a neighboring territory a lad of no more than seventeen ran off with a mother of five children who was at least fifteen years his senior. It was said that the woman had taken the initiative. The matter was settled when the boy's datu paid his fine and the woman returned to her first husband. But they ran off again within a week.

All this clearly reflects the lack of centralized authority in Manobo society. There is no group larger than the territorial group within which authority is recognized. Each is a law to itself. No outside authority can guarantee the stability of marriage or ensure that commitments entered into at marriage will be met by both parties. When Datu Undas's wife, Kaben, ran off, there was no higher authority among the Manobos to whom he could go to have the couple apprehended. The young men of his own and affiliated groups were sent out to find the erring couple and warn other Manobos of the defection. But it was highly improbable that any other datu would be willing, or have the authority, to apprehend and return them.

In the absence of higher authority Manobo justice is frequently meted out by the offended individual and his relatives. This practice is being stamped out by the government, but blood feuds are still by no means uncommon.

Revenge is indiscriminate. The avenging party may kill any relative of the offending party, and counter revenge is almost certain.

It is claimed that the offended party in the case of desertion has the right to kill both offenders, the girl and the man to whom she has defected. Both must be killed for justice to be satisfied. It is considered to be a crime to kill only one. The legitimacy of this settlement seems to be recognized by outside authority.

Such extreme action may be avoided if the bride price is returned, but it seems more than likely that many disputes were settled in the heat of the dispute before the less drastic means were discussed. If the bride price is returned, it must be returned in full with the addition of several units as a fine.

While it is reasonably certain that most disputes among Manobos spring from marriage and marriage breakup, not all marital breakups are followed by bloody settlement. It is more common to settle such a matter by arbitration and discussion between the two parties. A society in which marriage so frequently breaks up could scarcely commit itself to an endless round of feuds without facing extinction.

## 14. Succession, ownership, and inheritance

Manobo society has neither rules of succession nor inheritance. The datu's rank seems, for the most part, to be earned. It is not a highly important position and commands little respect outside the immediate territorial group. In the case of the sultanship at Kulaman the issue of succession is of greater importance. But the fact that several men are contending for the position against the young son of the dead sultan would seem to be indicate that there is no fixed line of succession even in the case of a sultanship.

A person's possessions amount to very little: one set of clothing, mostly ragged, some fishing equipment, a bow and arrows, and sometimes a long spear. Very few people own mats or blankets though some may own pillows. Household equipment is at a bare minimum: a few bamboo cylinders, water pots, a wooden pounding bowl for rice, one or two metal cooking pots. Some people have a brass betel nut box, but most have only small bamboo cylinders for this purpose.

Horses, swords, and gongs are in great demand and much prized. But there are very few in the group, and they are kept in constant circulation as marriages are arranged. Those who own horses never have saddles or proper bridles. Few Manobos keep pigs; few keep more than a few fowl.

Manobos do not have many assets at any one time in their lives. At death there is very little to pass on. (The situation may be a little different at Kulaman where some of the datus are said to have more wealth, but it is very doubtful if even these datus have very much by comparison with datus of other cultural communities.) Should the head of a family die it is said that any bride price items still outstanding to him are reckoned as payable to his sons in the order of their seniority.

Individual ownership is not noticeably practiced. Clothes are freely passed around among the members of a group. Should someone plan to visit another area, he usually borrows the best clothes of some other member of his group in temporary exchange for his own tatters. Requesting someone else's possessions is one of the most distinctive customs; if there are restrictions we have not discovered them. Few would refuse to give anything once it is requested. A man who lives in his wife's group seldom seems able to keep any valuables to himself. But since any who are asked may also ask from others, it ultimately balances out, resulting only in the constant circulation of goods.

The lack of a strongly developed system of private property is reflected in the language. The strongest word for ownership found so far is épé 'owner'. This may mean owner of goods or an animal. But the same word is used in a number of other contexts in which possession is not in view; for example, épé salà 'one who does wrong/the owner of a wrong' and épé palì 'a person with a wound'.

ipaten is used of personal possessions. But the root ipat means essentially 'to put in charge of'. An older married girl may hand over her outfit of necklaces to her younger unmarried sister. She puts the younger sister in charge of them; they are not to be regarded as her permanent possession.

Some measure of personal ownership is, however, recognized in the group. If a person plants a field to rice, that person must be the first to reap from it. No one ever steals from an unharvested stand of rice. The owner must be informed, even though he or she may be living at some distance away. It is said to be fatal to harvest someone else's rice.

When a person dies, all his clothes, even if they are new, are buried with him. Should he die before rice harvest, his body is kept in a special coffin made from a sealed hollow log until the time of harvest. Then his rice crop is gathered. It is never stored for the group's use during the following year but is all consumed at a feast when the relatives gather to pay respect to the dead.

## 15. Conclusions

The topography of Cotabato Manobo country does not permit any great concentration of people except at Kulaman Valley and a few other localities. Manobos are not a very populous group, and their distribution over an extensive territory militates against concentration. Their individualistic farming habits, often in rather inaccessible places, also tend to split them into numerous small groups.

A strongly developed datu system might have united them into larger, more closely integrated groups. But their independence and relative lack of discipline are hardly compatible with such a system. A Manobo datu may be a law to himself, but even within his own small group his authority is limited. Even if he could exercise the right to arrogate his people's possessions, the group is too poor for him to acquire much wealth. What

wealth there is figures prominently in the bride price and is kept in constant circulation.

Moreover, it is not possible for a datu's household to proliferate. For while descent is probably through the male line, no law requires the members of the same male line to associate together under the leadership of the senior male of the family. Each member is more or less free (if he should ever become free of his bride price obligations) to choose his own place of residence or establish his own household. But any tendency for the male kin to associate together is negated by the requirement that a boy live with his father-in-law's family until such time as full or adequate payment of the bride price is made. Poverty makes it almost impossible for a young man, even with the aid of the rest of his family, to pay off his commitments very speedily.

The poverty of the Manobos and high bride prices unite the society more than any other factor. The higher the bride price, the greater the number of kin who must contribute towards it. No single family unit can muster sufficient reserves. Closely related groups, even though they may be geographically remote, are in constant touch with each other as every effort is made to gather the necessary items together. In the opposite camp of the girl's family, items once received are distributed among the immediate kin and also to more remote kin to whom they may be indebted for former favors. This is as much as anything a precautionary measure against the future breakdown of the marriage. The responsibility for refunding the bride price falls to all those who shared in it originally.

Since the members of any family line are distributed so widely and since any unit of that line is more or less free to associate where it wishes, there are no known major divisions among the Cotabato Manobos. They are a loose but homogeneous association such that a man traveling through an area, while always on guard against reprisals springing from individual family feuds, may always count on hospitality from some relative.

Cotabato Manobo society is minimally institutionalized. The people are bound together by common customs, beliefs, and language, assenting to authority only as they are prepared to recognize it or require it for their own well-being. It is not surprising that marriage, which more than anything else binds the group together, more often than not breaks down. This is in marked contrast to the highly institutionalized social structure of other Luzon groups, among them the Kalingas, whose culture has been so well described by R.F. Barton (1949).

The future of the Cotabato Manobo people is very much in the balance. With such a society they will quickly succumb to intrusions from outside groups. In view of their unsophisticated farming methods and with little regard for personal ownership of goods or lands, they scarcely fit into the new pattern developing around them. They resent the changes, which will certainly accelerate in the next few years, but see no solution to the problem. Unless an outside authority protects them against complete loss of their lands, it is only a matter of time before they become a dispossessed minority in their own territory.

## NOTES

[All notes were added in 1987 and are the comments of Ross Errington, SIL researcher currently living among the Cotabato Manobo.]

1. Although giving birth is, in the present, still a private affair, more recently it takes place in the woman's home with the assistance of a midwife.

2. In addition to these that Kerr mentions, a horse fight also gathers a crowd. The crowd will be even larger if more horses compete over the mare in heat.

3. This has changed more recently in certain areas with the introduction of coffee as a main crop.

4. Since a marriage of people from closely related groups happens rarely, this practice of dropping the gongs into the water is also rare.

5. Similarly, anyone with the necessary skill may circumcise a man of marriageable age who desires to be circumcised.

6. Thirty years after Kerr's observation, very few men are seen to wear bobbed hair or earrings, a change that is probably due to the number of lowland Filipino settlers in the Manobo area.

7. More recently, this migration is practiced less frequently, perhaps because of the number of lowland settlers in the Kulaman Valley at present.

8. Thirty years after Kerr's observation, most adult Manobos now own more than one set of clothes, perhaps due to the partial shift to a cash economy, the availability of goods from lowland settlers and storekeepers, and relief from mission organizations in the Manobo area, although Manobos still have a poverty of possessions in comparison to other groups.

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# THE MAGIC OF THE COTABATO MANOBOS

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## 0. Introduction

Many of the Cotabato Manobo[1] people have become Christian believers; yet Manobo magic, sometimes called "medicine," is not automatically left behind at conversion. My interest was aroused by this, and I set out to discover why the Cotabato Manobos use magic and how the Christians among them view the use of magic. What do they perceive to be the power behind magic? Are there functional substitutes?

## 1. Uses of magic

At first it might seem that Manobos use magic in all areas of their lives. However, that is not accurate, for magic is practiced only in the area of the unpredictable, the unexpected, and the dangerous, as Malinowski (1954:140) points out:

> We find magic wherever the elements of chance and accident, and the emotional play between hope and fear have a wide and extensive range. We do not find magic wherever the pursuit is certain, reliable, and well under the control of rational methods and technological processes. Further, we find magic where the element of danger is conspicious. We do not find it wherever absolute safety eliminates any elements of foreboding.

The Manobos employ several different articles of magic, but in this discussion I will categorize them according to their function: (1) magic to prevent disaster; (2) magic to achieve healing; (3) magic to achieve success; and (4) magic to harm others.

## 1.1 Magic to prevent disaster

Manobo terms for magic to avert disaster are lambos, buwas, and ulop.

The lambos consists of a small pouch containing a certain grass and/or small stones worn as a necklace by children as well as adults. It is worn for protection against injury while traveling and also for protection from sickness. Recently an eight-year-old boy told me quite plainly that he would get sick if he did not wear this pouch.

The buwas is commonly worn as an armband. It is used as protection against gamut 'black magic'.

The ulop is an amulet or small bottle containing oil or water. I was told that such an amulet protected the bearer from being killed by bullets during the Muslim war and more recent trouble.

## 1.2 Magic for healing

We should first consider the causes of illness in the Manobo world view. Murphy (1964:61) refers to Forrest Clements's catalogue of primitive theories of disease causation saying that "disease is caused by soul loss; breach of taboo; disease sorcery; object intrusion; and spirit intrusion."

If death is included along with disease, then these five causes hold true for Manobos. An example of soul loss is in a Manobo text:

> "When there is also a person who is sick, if it's at night, the saksak spirit always speaks, for he is looking for the person's soul. If he will find it, he will chase it until he gets it. When he has gotten it, the person will have died."

An example of breach of taboo is the belief of Manobos that if they break a taboo in housebuilding or in planting or other activities, they will become sick and/or die. Disease sorcery is referred to in a text in which a person becomes sick because of the gamut magic to harm others. Spirit intrusion is mentioned in another text: the kelokun-lokun spirit causes diarrhea and the épé wayeg spirit causes swelling and blindness. In yet another text the melé spirit causes sickness and death.

Turner (1967:343) refers to Ackerknecht's statement that in the primitive treatment of disease "an invisible force is dealt with visibly by means that are meant and understood to be symbolic." Through the Manobos' use of batiyà, keluwen, and alam to achieve healing (in addition to the

lambos mentioned earlier), the invisible spiritual forces are dealt with symbolically.

In batiyà a person holds the affected area of his or another's body and speaks a chant, naming the ancestors and spirits and asking that the pain be removed.

To heal with keluwen 'grass', which is obtained from a shaman, one rubs the keluwen over the painful area. This is a common practice, described in the following portion of a Manobo text:

> But there is also its medicine consisting of grass or a tree. That is what the shaman knows. His friend [a familar spirit] teaches about the grass in his dream and he also names the name of the grass or the tree. Now, it is certainly true that if it is rubbed on the swelling, it will be removed.

Alam is the method of healing used when an object is believed to have intruded and caused illness; the foreign object must be extracted in order to restore health. Murphy (1964:67) describes such an attempt at healing: "The shaman was able to produce an object ... that could be shown to the séance audience as proof that the disease had been cured." The Manobos I interviewed who had experienced this had gone to a non-Manobo shaman to treat a toothache. They told me that after the shaman rubbed the cheek, he extracted numerous worms--twenty in one instance and twelve in another.

### 1.3 Magic for success

The use of magic for achieving success is as important in Manobo culture as magic for healing. Manobos have three types of magic for achieving success: (1) montiyà, small smooth stones in a pouch that are rubbed or held over cards so that the person will win in gambling; (2) dukah, an amulet carried by a hunter in order to easily obtain wild game, or by someone traveling to a distant place to ensure a welcome at his destination and a good outcome for the purpose of his trip; and (3) tagkes palay, a small bundle of rice tied into the first bundle of harvested rice to ensure a large harvest not quickly consumed.

Besides these types of positive magic to achieve success, there is a whole system of taboos used to prevent disaster. Lowie (1952:137-38) describes taboos as "merely negative magic involving the belief that harmful consequences are averted when certain acts are not performed." Manobos have many taboos regarding housebuilding, farming, traveling, burial, pregnancy, childbirth, and the "omen bird." According to one Manobo text, these taboos originated with the spirits. The spirits taught them to the shamans, who in turn instructed the people so that they would not trespass the taboo. A responsible person complies with the various taboos not simply to avoid the consequences but also for conscience' sake, as Malinowski (1954:57) wrote:

> He abstains from breaking it partly because he fears the direct evil consequences flowing from the will of a divinity, or from the forces of the sacred, but mainly because his personal responsibility and conscience forbid him from doing it.

### 1.4 Magic to harm others

Malinowski (1954:31) wrote that "besides ... natural causes [of illness] there is the enormous domain of sorcery and by far the most cases of illness and death are ascribed to this." My Manobo friends assured me that not everyone possesses gamut 'black magic' (used to harm others), but, since they do not know who does possess it, it is wise to take certain precautions, as described in the following excerpt from a Manobo text:

> [After a visit] ... when he will leave, he will spit chewed betel nut at a person inside the house because, if he does not spit chewed betel nut, his gamut will be angry. The person who will become sick will have been struck.... Similarly, if there is one who has gamut, if you will go around behind him you will be struck with gamut.... Your body will become weak. Now if he does not spit chewed betel nut at us, we will die.

## 2. Theoretical framework

Why is magic used in the Manobo culture? What is its origin? What is the power involved in magic? Why do people continue to trust it when it does not give the desired result?

### 2.1 Reasons for the use of magic

Magic is a means to an end, whether healing, success, protection, or harming others. Malinowski refers to magic as "a body of purely practical arts performed as a means to an end" (1954:70). Since people desire success in most areas of their lives, magic is an everyday affair, as Nida (1954:147-48) describes:

> For Melanesians sorcery is an everyday affair, not just a technique of getting rid of competitors. Regardless of how skilled a person may be, magic is still necessary to insure good luck in business, a safe journey,... success in growing.... Magic becomes one of the principal ingredients of medicines and healing.

The Manobo people, who live in the mountains of southwestern Mindanao, subsist on what they can grow on rugged, depleted land while contending with unpredictable weather, rats, and other pests. It is a constant struggle to get enough food and survive the illnesses brought on by malnutrition and unsanitary conditions. Yet they have learned how to cope with these difficulties: through both knowledge and magic. Malinowski (1954:29) aptly describes this:

> There is a clear-cut division: there is first the well-known set of conditions, the natural course of growth, as well as the ordinary pests and dangers to be warded off by fencing and weeding. On the other hand, there is the domain of the unaccountable and adverse influences, as well as the great unearned increment of fortunate coincidence. The first conditions are coped with by knowledge and work, the second by magic.

Magic is also involved in economic pursuits other than agriculture. "All important economic activities are fringed with magic, especially such as imply pronounced elements of chance, venture, or danger" (Malinowski 1954:190-91). Farming, hunting, and traveling are areas in which Manobos use magic in order to achieve success, as each involves a measure of uncertainty.

Magic is used not only in economic activities but also in the everyday problems of life beyond the control of primitive man. When technical knowldege fails to provide the answer, a need for magic is often felt (Malinowski 1958:93):

> Magic is to be expected and generally to be found whenever man comes to an unbridgeable gap, a hiatus in his knowledge or in his powers of practical control, and yet has to continue in his pursuit.

Sickness is one such "unbridgeable gap" for Manobos. Magic has traditionally provided the bridge, whether positive magic in treating a sick person or negative magic in preventing sickness or disaster through the use of charms or the taboo system.

The need to achieve success (e.g., winning at gambling) is another area that fits Malinowski's definition: "Magic is used as something which over and above man's equipment and his force helps him to master accident and to ensnare luck" (1958:88). Magic gives primitive man a sense of succeeding, according to Malinowski (1954:140):

> The integral cultural function of magic ... consists in bridging over the gaps and inadequacies in highly important activities not completely mastered by man. In order to achieve this end, magic supplies primitive man with a firm belief in his power of succeeding.

But in reality, man is still limited. Although Murphy's (1964) five causes of illness obtain, Manobos view the ultimate source of all their illnesses to be some spirit being. For example, offending a spirit through a breach of taboo may cause illness. Or a spirit may be directed to cause illnes through the power of a shaman. These spirit beings "own" or control the physical world around the Manobos--each mountain and cave, river and waterfall, forest and field. They are respected and feared. Frazer (1958:266) vividly describes the plight of people in such a situation:

> The old notion that the savage is the freest of mankind is the reverse of the truth. He is a slave, not indeed to a visible master, but to the past, to the spirits of his dead forefathers, who haunt his steps from birth to death and rule him with a rod of iron. What they did is the pattern of right, the unwritten law to which he yields a blind, unquestioning obedience.

It would seem that Manobos cope with this by further use of magic, either for good or evil purposes, as Nida (1954:140-141) describes:

> The use of these [magic] medicines implies certain beliefs in the power of humans to control spirit forces through mechanical, magical means, while the existence of black magic itself means that societies are maladjusted in that men seek to use supernatural means to kill enemies when they do not dare to use physical force

Nida goes on to say that this "belief that supernatural power can be controlled by 'mechanical' techniques lies at the root of magic--the foundation stone of animistic ritual" (ibid.:147).

A further reason for magic in a primitive society is that it gives an organizing force to the society and prominence to the magician:

> Magic serves not only as an integrative force to the individual but also as an organizing force to society. The fact that the magician by the nature of his secret and esoteric lore has also the control of the associated practical activities causes him usually to be a person of the greatest importance in the community. [Malinowksi 1958:94]

This is certainly true in the traditional society of the Manobos. The shared belief in magic and all its forms unites the scattered people. It also gives great importance to a successful shaman; his fame spreads throughout the whole region.

As an organizing force, magic plays a role similar to religion in society. "Religion and magic are ways men must have ... to make the world acceptable, manageable, and right" (Malinowksi 1954:10). Malinowksi further explains this similarity:

> Both magic and religion arise and function in situations of emotional stress: crises of life, lacunae in important pursuits, death and initiation into tribal mysteries, unhappy love and unsatisfied hate. Both ... open up escapes from such situations and such impasses as offer no empirical way out except by ritual and belief in the domain of the supernatural. [Ibid.:87]

However, Malinowski (1954:38) also points out a difference between magic and religion: Magic has an underlying aim that is clear, straightforward, and definite, while religion does not have a purpose clearly directed to a subsequent event.

So we conclude that in order to provide for and protect his family and order his world the Manobo uses magic when natural abilities and knowledge fail to produce the desired end. Malinowski's statement (1954:79) is true that "the savage simply affirms that magic gives man the power over certain things."

## 2.2 Origin of magic

Although there are Manobo shamans who specialize in magic, magic is practiced by almost all Manobos. Both children and adults know some magic to use for protection, healing, hunting, or growing rice. This observation is consonant with Nida (1954:138): "In Melanesia, almost every person is his own priest, for a person's success depends largely upon his personal control of mana at all times."

How did the Manobos acquire magic? When asked, they say, "From our ancestors." If questioned further, they would probably respond, "From the shaman," and this is verified by Manobo text material. Malinowski (1954:74-76) aptly describes the role of tradition in the transmission of magic:

> Tradition ... reigns supreme in primitive civilizations ... Thus the belief in the primeval natural existence of magic is universal.... It is a primeval possession of man to be known only through tradition and affirming man's autonomous power of creating desired ends.

In order to understand the origin of magic, Malinowski (1958:95) points out the importance of studying the people's mythology: "The function of myth is to strengthen tradition and to endow it with a greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, more supernatural and more effective reality of initial events." Indeed, "myth is not a dead product of past ages, merely surviving as an idle narrative. It is a living force ... constantly surrounding magic by new testimonies" (Malinowski 1954:83).

As to the origin of magic, Malinowski (1954:74-75) points out that people believe that it always existed from the beginning:

> In the case of any important magic we invariably find the story accounting for its existence. Such a story tells when and where it entered the possession of man, how it became the property of a local group.... But such a story is not the story of its origins. Magic never "originated," it never has been made or invented. All magic simply "was" from the beginning an essential adjunct of all such things and processes as vitally interest man and yet elude his normal rational efforts.

Examination of Manobo myths shows that Manobos also believe that magic always existed in the supernatural world and has been passed down to the ancestors through spirit beings.

## 2.3 Power involved in magic

Manobos believe that magic is effective because it has tunung 'supernatural power', often referred to as mana as here by Hiebert (1976:386):

> Mana is an invisible force, which pervades the universe and is found to a greater or lesser degree in gods, men, animals, and natural objects, such as rivers, mountains, stones, and trees. But mana itself is not a personality with whom a person can communicate. It is an attribute of these objects, just as magnetism and gravitational fields are attributes of certain objects. Mana can be controlled by one who knows the formulas.... Mana helps people explain extraordinary experiences and events that cannot otherwise be explained. It also accounts for human successes ... [and] for failures.... Mana is often linked to taboos.

Nida defines supernatural powers as "at least in part controllable" (1954:145) and as being "entirely neutral in ethical matters. It is only power, and can be used to heal or to destroy" (ibid.:148-49). This is true of Manobo magic; it can bring about good or evil.

Malinowski (1954:75) points out that "it is only by an absolutely unmodified immaculate transmission does magic retain its efficiency. The slightest alteration from the original pattern would be fatal." In other words, it is necessary not only to know the right formulae, but also to reduplicate them exactly.

Nida (1954:157-58) comments on the necessity of absolute accuracy in order to achieve the desired result:

> It is not enough to believe in spirits, to own sacred medicines bundles, and to want healing. One has to do something in order to attain the desired results.... In order that the [sacred] words may have their full power, some religions ... require that the religious formulae be recited with absolute accuracy.

Malinowski (1954:73-74) speaks of three typical elements associated with magical efficiency: (1) phonetic effects or imitations of natural sounds that symbolize certain phenomena and are believed to be produced magically; (2) the use of words that invoke, state, or command the desired aim; and (3) mythological allusions, that is, references to the ancestors and cultural heroes from whom this magic has been received. In most magical rituals, Malinowski says, "there corresponds a spontaneous ritual of emotional expression or of a forecast of the desired end" (ibid.:82). The Manobo use of batiyà, a chant begging help from the ancestors and spirits, seems to fit this description of the use of words and mythological allusions to achieve the desired end.

2.4 Persistence of magic

When magic fails to achieve the desired end, why do people continue to put their trust in it? One reason is that a case of failure can be blamed on the faulty performance of the magician or counter-magic.

> When magic fails, as it often must, there are several explanations which serve to perpetuate belief in the particular formula: the ritual is said to have been incorrectly performed; the magician may have violated a taboo and thus have lost his power to perform the ritual, or there may have been strong counter-magic. When people want to believe, they will believe. [Lessa and Vogt 1958:246]

Another reason for the persistence of magic is that one gain outweighs several losses, as Malinowski (1954:82) describes:

> It is a well-known fact that in human memory the testimony of a positive case always overshadows the negative one. One gain easily outweighs several losses. Thus the instances which affirm magic always loom far more conspicious than those which deny it.

A third reason that magic persists is that it helps explain the universe for primitive man. Turner (1967:356) says:

> One reason for their persistence lies, no doubt, in the very fact that they are part of a religious system which itself constitutes an explanation of the universe and guarantees the norms and values on which orderly social arrangements rest.

He goes on to say:

> Another more practical reason would be that many diseases are self-curing; in the course of time, regardless of the treatment they are given, many people recover from illness, but the recovery is attributed to the treatment. Then again, psychological considerations must play a part in the case of mild psychosomatic conditions and in the milder cases of somatic illness. [Ibid.]

However, the persistence of magic is not in itself a benefit. For instance, it has done nothing to ameliorate the high mortality rate among the Manobos. Turner (ibid.:357) notes:

> The fact that a rich and elaborate system of ritual and magical beliefs and practices provides a set of explanations for sickness and death and gives people a false sense of confidence that they have the means of coping with disease does nothing towards raising the level of health or increasing the life expectancy.

## 2.5 Imitative and contagious magic

Frazer speaks of two types of sympathetic magic: imitative and contagious. Imitative magic operates according to the law of similarity, the principle that like produces like: "The magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it" (Frazer 1958:248). Some uses of imitative magic described by Frazer are putting people out of the world; facilitating childbirth; healing; preventing sickness; securing food; maintenance of taboos or "negative magic"; causing plants to bear; transferring qualities or properties of animals or of the dead to people; and achieving blessing from inanimate things as well as plants and animals. Thus almost all Manobo magic, except the magic to harm others, is imitative magic.

Contagious magic, which is based on the law of contact, "proceeds upon the notion that things which have once been conjoined must remain ever afterwards, even when quite dissevered from each other, in such a sympathetic relation that whatever is done to the one must similarly affect the other" (ibid.:260). This sympathetic relation is said to exist between a man and any severed portion of his person, or a man and his clothing, or a man and the impressions left by his body in the sand or earth. Thus, in the Manobo culture, the magic to harm others would be contagious magic. According to the Manobo text quoted in section 1.4 the law of contact applies to chewed betel nut and the space behind someone. Even though these are dissevered from the person, they can be used to transmit the intended harm.

Frazer's description of two types of sympathetic magic applies to the Manobo use of magic. His theory

> has the merit of throwing into relief two divergent primitive attitudes--the one implying an appeal to personal helpers in the form of prayer, the other resting on the application of a formula that may or may not involve the constraint of such helpers but excludes supplication. [Lowie 1952:139]

# 3. Implications for cultural change

For people like the Manobos who have a longstanding belief in magic, cultural change is likely to result in syncretism. To avoid syncretism, a "functional substitute" acceptable and functional in the newly emerging culture should be found to fill the needs that magic filled in the past.

## 3.1 Functional substitute

To implement a "functional substitute" (Nida 1954:179) for magic, the Christian Manobos first need to understand the power behind it. If the power comes from what Manobos call "spirit beings on earth," they must understand that, from the point of view of the newly adopted values of Christianity, magic is idolatry, and in the new value system God is sovereign and not manipulable. This contrasts with magic, a system of

control and manipulation, in which if you say the right thing you get the right result.

By discussing magic in its various forms, the Manobo Christians can decide what they should do about it, and thus they can find a functional substitute. Magic is used to meet a need when technical knowledge fails; Christian alternatives to meet such needs should be sought. Otherwise the Christians will be prone to syncretism or magic being used in secret.

In the three areas for which Manobos use imitative magic (to achieve healing, success, and protection; see secs. 1.1-3), prayer can function as a substitute for magic. As for magic to harm others (sec. 1.4), the Scriptural teaching against revenge would preclude the need for a substitute.

### 3.2 Present view of magic

How do Christian Manobos presently view magic? Have they changed their attitude towards it? Are there areas in which they feel magic is still needed?

Though the answers that I was given to these questions were not unanimous, a change in attitude on the part of some is reflected in the following text:

> Now, at this time we no longer obey all the kinds of omen doves. And as for all the bad things we no longer do that, and also for all of our bad customs. At this time we no longer obey all the kinds of our omen doves and we also no longer obey all the taboos and we have also rejected all of our bad customs because we now believe all the word of God....

In one Manobo community many people said, "I no longer do magic, for I now believe in God." Some new Christians are breaking away completely from the use of magic. But its practice is still known to them as shown by the fact that they were able to tell me details about it. One lay pastor said that although he had given up many forms of magic, he was reluctant to give up buwas, the magic protection against another person's black magic.

## 4. Conclusion

In this article I have briefly presented the use of magic, its function and forms, among the Cotabato Manobo people, and I have suggested that functional substitutes for magic need to be found as the culture changes.

But this is not the whole story. Further research is needed in such areas as the role of symbolism and divination in magic, how magic fits into the Manobo world view, and how Manobo myths further explain magic. It will be of interest to see in the future the long-term effects of attitudinal and cultural changes now in progress among the Cotabato Manobo people.

## NOTE

1. Cotabato Manobo is a Philippine language spoken by some ten to fifteen thousand Manobo people living in the province of Sultan Kudarat on the island of Mindanao. The language area extends along the coast and inland about twenty miles with the Tran River as its approximate northern boundary and the town of Milbuk as its approximate southern boundary. The author began field work in 1976 in Limulan, Kalamansig, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This article was written in 1986.

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# ETHNIC STEREOTYPES: THEIR ROLE IN PARENT-CHILD COMMUNICATION

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This study determines how parents and their children use stereotypical information about different ethnic groups; whether parent-child communication of stereotypes improves with age; and whether the communication process is influenced by factors such as the ethnic group label and the amount of stereotypical information. The task required a speaker and a listener. The speaker's task was to say one of three stereotypical traits provided, while the listener was to identify the ethnic group referred to. Communicational efficiency was assessed in terms of correct identification and time latency required to make the identification. A three-way analysis of variance for the factors of speaker, age, and amount of information was performed with correct identification and speaker and listener latencies as the dependent variables. Identification of ethnic groups was more accurate and took less time as the number of appropriate stereotypes increased. A consistent main effect for speaker was obtained, while an age effect was evident for only one ethnic group label. Results demonstrate the communicational significance of ethnic stereotypes.

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## 0. Introduction

The concept of ethnic stereotype is frequently used to refer to beliefs by members of one group about the characteristics of groups of people. The first operational definition of the concept is attributed to Katz and Braly (1933), who defined stereotypes in terms of the consensus regarding the traits applicable to a group. With their method subjects are presented a list of traits and asked to check the five traits that are "most typical" of a particular group. A stereotype is then defined by the extent of

agreement in the choice of trait objectives. Hence, the more the consensus the stronger or more definite the stereotype is said to be.

Since then, there has been a considerable number of studies directed to demonstrating the universality of the stereotyping process and the existence of stereotypes in many cultural groups (e.g., Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor 1968; Lambert and Klineberg 1967); the stability of stereotypes (Karlins, Koffman, and Walters 1969; Gilbert 1951); and the origins and nature of stereotypes (Allport 1950; Blake and Dennis 1959; Child and Doob 1943; Triandis and Vassilou 1967).

In the early 1970s the concept and the research work accomplished in the area came under review. In particular, Brigham's (1971, 1973) critical review of the stereotype literature indicated that little had been discovered about how stereotypes are learned, changed, or affect behavior. This period also marked the development of several measurement methods for assessing stereotypes, such as the percentage measure (Brigham 1969, 1971, 1973, 1974); the stereotype differential (Gardner, Kirby, Gorospe, and Villamin 1972); the diagnostic ratio (McCauley and Stitt 1978). These measures were developed essentially in response to criticisms of the Katz and Braly checklist, which does not provide an individual and quantitative measure of stereotyping.

In the past, stereotypes have been considered to be a categorizing process (Allport 1954; Ehrlich 1973). Recently, there has been a revival of interest among social scientists in the study of stereotypes as an instance of the general process of categorizing. It is asserted that the formation of generalizations about ethnic groups is not radically different from the formation of generalizations about other categories of objects, and that the cognitive process involved in stereotyping may be the same as that that influences an individual when he deals with any aspect of his environment (Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, and Rudermen 1978; Tajfel 1981; Taylor and Aboud 1973). As a result of this cognitive orientation, there is renewed activity in looking at stereotyping of ethnic groups as a categorization process, the consequences of which have yet to be studied.

Categorization serves to reduce the complexity of the information received by the human organism from its environment (Bruner 1957; Bruner and Klein 1960; Tajfel 1959b, 1972, 1978). Although there is evidence that categorization according to salient social groupings can influence the processing and retention of information about individuals (Hamilton 1979; Taylor 1979; Duncan 1976; Cantor and Mischel 1977, 1979), the communicational significance of ethnic stereotypes has yet to be fully explored.

Gardner, Rodensky, and Pablo (1973) gave attention earlier to the encoding and decoding of stereotypical information relating to ethnic groups when they conducted a study to demonstrate that stereotypes influence the behavior of a speaker and a listener in a communicational task. College subjects belonging to Philippine national groups were paired in a communicational dyad where the task required one subject to be a speaker and the other a listener. Each speaker was required to indicate to a listener one of two ethnic group labels by saying one of three adjectives provided. The listener was required to determine which ethnic group was

being referred to. Their results reveal that the amount of stereotypical information and the particular ethnic group were significant in affecting the communication task. In particular, as the amount of stereotypical characteristics increased, the identification of ethnic groups was more accurate.

The present study was designed to assess the communciational significance of ethnic stereotypes in a parent-child dyadic situation. It has been hypothesized that children acquire their first picture of ethnic groups and their basic impressions of people from their parents (Blake and Dennis 1959; Goodman 1952; Horrowitz 1936; Lambert and Klineberg 1967). Furthermore, it is argued that as they grow older the stereotypes of children become more like those of their parents, although the support for this hypothesis remains weak (Pablo and Gardner 1987).

If one accepts that consensual beliefs about ethnic groups are part of the cognitive systems of adults and children and that they may share such beliefs, then one can proceed to investigate appropriately the communicational significance of stereotypes and the conditions which may affect the accuracy • and efficacy of the encoding and decoding of information within a parent-child paradigm. This study tests the primary hypothesis that communication through stereotypes improves with age. Other factors such as ethnic group label, amount of stereotypical information, and nature of speaker were also considered to determine the conditions where the effects may operate.

## 1. Method

### 1.1 Subjects

The subjects in the study were twenty Filipino mothers and twenty daughters in each of three grade levels: Grade IV (ages 10-11), Grade VI (ages 12-13), and fourth-year high-school students (ages 16-17). They were all residents of Manila suburbs, speakers of the Tagalog language. These parent-child pairs were selected randomly from the list of parents and children who responded to a Katz-and-Braly-type checklist administered initially as a basis for determining the stereotype content of the communication task (see Pablo and Gardner 1987). The selection of mothers and daughters to comprise the communication dyad was based on the observation that mothers spend more time at home and that daughters were more in contact with mothers, thus increasing the probability that the daughters would share the parents' beliefs.

### 1.2 Materials

The communication paradigm employed was based on that used by Gardner, Rodensky, and Pablo (1973), which was adapted from a similar technique used by Cohen and Camhi (1967). The task required a speaker and a listener: the speaker's task was to choose and say aloud one of three traits listed on a slip of paper. On the basis of this word the listener was to determine which group was the referent. Communicational efficiency was then assessed in terms of the listener's correctly identifying the referent group.

The materials used consisted of stimuli presented to speakers and response sheets given to listeners. The stimuli presented to the speakers consisted of 72 numbered slips of paper on each of which were typed ethnic-group labels: 24 had "Ilocano-Tagalog," 24 had "Chinese-Japanese," 24 had "American-Russian." (These groups were chosen because Tagalogs and Ilocanos constitute the two most dominant of the Philippine ethnic groups; the four others were chosen on the basis of the subjects' familiarity with them.)

Of the 24 slips containing the Ilocano-Tagalog label, 12 had Tagalogs underlined and 12 had Ilocanos underlined. A similar format was employed with the Chinese-Japanese and American-Russian labels. Below the label were typed three descriptive adjectives selected beforehand with the aid of the Katz-Braly-type checklist. All the trait adjectives used in the communication paradigm were from the parents' stereotypes for each particular ethnic group as shown in table 1. (Due to limitations of space the following traits mentioned by a small number of subjects were not listed in table 1: for Americans, "persistent" (13%); for Japanese "artistic" and "intelligent" (12% each); for Russians, "sports-minded" (10%).) The results of the analysis are reported here in section 2 and also in Pablo and Gardner 1987.

The ethnic groups as paired were two local ethnic groups, Ilocanos and Tagalogs; two neighboring Asian groups, Chinese and Japanese; and two Occidental groups, Americans and Russians. This manipulation of pairs was done to compare how efficient communication through stereotypes was with significant in-groups and out-groups.

For the 12 slips on which Tagalogs was underlined, six bore three traits all drawn from the Tagalog stereotype (T3), and six contained three traits one of which was drawn from the Tagalog stereotype (T1) and two of which were drawn from the Ilocano stereotype. These two conditions may be labeled appropriate trait three (AT3) and appropriate trait one (AT1). Communicational efficiency utilizing stereotypical information can thus be assessed in terms of amount of stereotypical information; that is, will a greater amount of stereotypical information enhance or interfere with identification of ethnic groups?

This same general procedure was followed for the 12 slips on which Ilocanos was underlined: Six slips each contained three traits drawn from the Ilocanos stereotype (I3), and the other six each contained one trait from the Ilocano stereotype (I1) and two traits from the Tagalog stereotype.

The label Chinese-Japanese appeared on 24 slips of paper, and below the label were typed three trait adjectives. On 12 of them the label Chinese was underlined and on the other 12 Japanese was underlined. Of the slips with Chinese, six bore three traits all drawn from the Chinese stereotype (AT3) and six contained three traits of which one was drawn from the Chinese stereotype (AT1) and two from the Japanese. Theis procedure was also followed for the 12 slips on which Japanese was underlined. Strips with the label Americans-Russians were prepared in the same way.

The response sheet presented to the listener (either parent or child) consisted of 72 numbered rows each containing the paired labels, Ilocanos-Tagalogs, Chinese-Japanese, Americans-Russians. The labels within each pair were randomly alternated but balanced so that in 36 of the rows, the first member of the label pairs (i.e., Ilocanos, Chinese, and Americans) appeared first and in the other 36 rows the second member appeared first. In order to eliminate order effects, two equivalent forms were prepared for each stimulus (for the speaker) and for each response sheet (for the listener's use).

1.3 Procedure

The face-to-face communication task involved parent-child dyads in one half of which the parent was the speaker and the child was the listener and the other half the child was the speaker and the parent the listener. The parent was informed that the communication task was part of a research project and that in no way was it going to affect the child's performance in school.

The speaker was then presented with a slip of paper containing a label with the names of two groups, one of which was underlined, and below it three adjectives. She was told that her task was to select any word of the three that she felt would best describe the underlined ethnic name. She was instructed to say the word aloud, then underline it on the slip of paper. Examples were given for practice.

The listener was then instructed. Without seeing what the speaker had written, she was simply to underline the ethnic namethat she thought the speaker was trying to communicate on the basis of the adjective she had spoken.

The 72 stimulus items were presented to the speaker alternately according to the two forms prepared, AT3 and AT1. As the experimenter handed each stimulus slip to the speaker, he started a stopwatch. When the speaker was able to say one of the words, the experimenter stopped the stopwatch and recorded the speaker's latency (i.e., the length of time between the presentation of a stimulus until her verbal response). As soon as the speaker said the word, the experimenter's assistant started a stopwatch; then when the listener underlined the ethnic name on her response sheet that she thought the speaker was trying to communicate, the experimenter's assistant stopped the watch and recorded the listener's latency.

The experimenter arranged the communication set-up so that neither the speaker nor the listener was shown her partner's materials. The entire test took about 30 minutes.

## 2. Results

The treatment of the data consisted of a series of separate analyses of variance for each of the following: correct identification, the latency of speakers, and the latency of listeners.

The experimental design of the study involved four factors and took the form of a four factors analysis (2 X 3 X 2 X 2) of variance with repeated measures on the last two factors. The four factors in order were: type of speaker (parent vs. child); grade of child (IV, VI, fourth-year high school); amount of message information (one vs. three attributes relevant to the parents' stereotypes); and ethnic groups (Ilocano-Tagalog, Chinese-Japanese, American-Russian). Analysis was conducted separately for the three pairs of ethnic group labels and for three different dependent variables: the number of correct identifications made by the listeners, the speakers' latencies, and the listeners' latencies. The number of correct identifications is a direct measure of the efficiency of communicating about ethnic groups through the use of stereotypical labels since it reflects how accurately the listener decodes the message. The speaker and listener latencies indicate the amount of difficulty the speaker had encoding, and the listener had decoding, the message (Shannon 1948).

### 2.1 Analysis of correct identifications

#### 2.1.1 Ilocano-Tagalog groups

Significant main effects (i.e., significant differences that can be attributed to the independent variables in this study) were obtained for amount of information and ethnic group label (see table 2, which with all subsequent tables is at the end of this article). More correct identifications were made when three informational attributes were used ($\bar{X}$=53.50) than when only one was used ($\bar{X}$=44.00). A significant interaction was also obtained for type of speaker and amount of information. From figure 1 (figures follow tables at the end of the article) it is clear that the main effect for information described above is true for both parent and child speakers but that it was more pronounced when the speaker was a child. Hence, when the child speaker communicates with the parent listener and all three attributes coincided with the parent's stereotype of the referent group, communication was relatively better than when the parent was the speaker. A Scheffe test indicated a reliable mean difference between the child speaker--parent listener and the parent speaker--child listener.

The other significant interaction for amount of information and ethnic group label is presented in figure 2. Subjects correctly identified the concept Ilocano more frequently than the concept Tagalog, but this effect was less pronounced when all three message attributes were relevant to the label.

### 2.1.2 Chinese-Japanese groups

The summary table for the analysis of variance is presented in table 3. The significant results obtained are similar to those of the Ilocano-Tagalog groups. A main effect for amount of information resulted because correct, identification increased when three attributes were appropriate to the label ($\bar{X}$=58.90) as compared to those message conditions where only one alternative trait was appropriate ($\bar{X}$=44.00). The significant interaction obtained for speaker by amount of information is plotted in figure 3. With increasing information, listeners consistently identified the referent groups more correctly. Parent listeners were also more able to identify the target group correctly as indicated by a Scheffe test of means.

### 2.1.3 American-Russian groups

A significant main effect (see table 4) was obtained for grade of subjects. More correct identifications were obtained with increasing grade ($\bar{X}$=29.30, 32.30, and 36.30 respectively). This is the only group in which an age effect was obtained. The main effect for amount of information was due to the subjects' identification of the referent group more accurately as more attributes were available in the communication task ($\bar{X}$=38.90 and 58.10). The effect for ethnic group label also attained significance. Americans were identified more accurately ($\bar{X}$=56.00) than Russians ($\bar{X}$=42.00). Two significant interactions were obtained for this analysis. The first was a speaker by amount of information effect; and the other, amount of information by ethnic group label effect (see figs. 4 and 5). The first resulted because parent listeners were more accurate in identifying the ethnic groups when all the information attributes were relevant to their stereotype. In contrast, the children were relatively less accurate under the condition of having all three attributes being appropriate to the referent group. The latter interaction shows that as the amount of information increased the Americans were identified more accurately than the Russians. Application of the Scheffe test of means reveals the identification of Americans to be significant at both levels of information.

### 2.2 Analysis of speaker latency

Speaker's latency measures the time from the moment the speaker verbally sends the message to the listener and the listener's identification of the referent group. Hence, the greater the speaker's latency, the more hesitancy and difficulty the speaker had in arriving at what was felt to be the best message alternative to identify what the referent group actually was.

### 2.2.1 Ilocano-Tagalog groups

The summary table for this analysis is presented in table 5. Only a three-way interaction for type of speaker, grade, and ethnic group factors was obtained. This interaction is illustrated in figure 7. For both ethnic groups, speaker latencies were lower for Grade VI than for Grade IV subjects when parents and children were speakers. However, with higher grades an interesting pattern emerges with parent speakers: A further decrease in the fourth-year high-school student's latency occurred when referring to Ilocano, whereas an increase in latency was evident when identifying Tagalogs.

### 2.2.2 Chinese-Japanese groups

No significant main or interaction effects were obtained.

### 2.2.3 American-Russian groups

The summary table for this analysis (table 6) reveals a main effect for the factor amount of information and a three-way interaction for all the factors of grade, information, and ethnic-group label (see fig. 8). The main effect shows a significant decrease in latency as the amount of information increased ($\bar{X}$=352.38 and 319.32 respectively). Given more information, the speakers took less time in selecting an appropriate trait for either concept. The three-way interaction indicates that speaker latencies decreased as a function of grade, but that the effects of amount of information and ethnic-group label were not constant at each grade level. Speaker latencies were generally higher for the one appropriate trait alternative. With Grade IV subjects, speakers were less hesitant when all the alternatives were appropriate to Russians then when only one was. This pattern was reversed for the American label with fourth-year high-school students; subjects were generally less hesitant when all three messages were appropriate.

## 2.3 Analysis of listener latency

Listener latency is defined as the time it took the listener to identify the correct referent group once the speaker had spoken the adjective label he thought appropriate for the ethnic group underlined.

### 2.3.1 Ilocano-Tagalog groups

Significant main effects were obtained for two factors: grade and amount of information (see table 7). Listeners' latencies decreased with increasing grade levels ($\bar{X}$=164.56, 140.50, and 116.75 seconds respectively), indicating that listeners in the older dyads found it relatively easier to respond to this communication task. The significant effect for amount of information resulted because the listeners took less time to respond to the three appropriate message conditions ($\bar{X}$=221.925 and 199.825 seconds respectively).

The significant two-way interaction obtained for this analysis is plotted in figure 9. The interaction was a result of the difference in listener latency between child listener and parent listener on the Tagalog label. Children took more time in identifying the Tagalogs than parent listeners although this difference was not supported by a signicant Scheffe test of means.

2.3.2 Chinese-Japanese groups

A main effect for grade was obtained for this analysis as a result of the higher grade subjects identifying the target group in shorter time. A significant interaction was obtained (see table 8) and is illustrated in figure 6. The interaction is due to the listener's longer identification time of the Chinese as the amount of stereotypical information increased. As for the Japanese group, listener latency remained constant across the two message conditions.

2.3.3 American-Russian groups

One main effect was obtained for grade (see table 9), and this is attributed to the shorter listener latency for both ethnic groups as the subjects increased in their grades ($\bar{X}$=153.90, 132.50, and 110.30 respectively).

3. Discussion

The present study demonstrates the informational value of ethnic stereotypes. Ethnic memberships are shown to be useful cues for making references and communicating about different groups. Subjects were able to consistently identify the referent ethnic groups using appropriate stereotypical traits, particularly under conditions where more information appropriate to the target group was available. This observation is consistent with the findings of another study (Gardner, Rodensky, and Pablo 1973), in which listeners were relatively more accurate in identifying a referent group when the number of alternative stereotypic labels appropriate to that group increased. The communicational significance of ethnic stereotypes is further supported by the significant interactions obtained for amount of information and ethnic group label, particularly for the Ilocano-Tagalog and American-Russian groups in which higher accuracy was obtained as more stereotypic information was provided.

The categorization of persons into an "in-group" and an "out-group" and its effects upon interpersonal perception and behavior have been noted in many experiments (Brewer 1979), although its effects upon the perception of ethnic groups have received little research attention. In the present study the salience of this differentiation becomes apparent. The Tagalog subjects (both parents and children) were more accurate in identifying the out-group label Ilocano than their own group when given stereotypical traits as cues. A study of the ethnic stereotypes of Filipino parents and their children (Pablo and Gardner, in press). shows that Tagalog adults and children shared more consensus and trait overlap on the Ilocano traits than on the

Tagalog traits. It is reasonable to hypothesize that the subjects in this communicational study differentiated their own group from other groups mainly through a greater awareness of the traits attributed to the out-group.

The interactions involving the amount of stereotype information and the speaker factor are notable inasmuch as they describe the conditions in which the use of stereotypical information is most evident. When the child speaker communicated with the parent listener and when all three attributes coincided with the parent's stereotypes of the referent groups, communication was much more accurate than when the parent was the speaker. Since the stereotypes included in the communication messages were determined by the parent's consensual beliefs, this result could be expected. What is significant is the inference that the children are capable of deciphering the appropriate stereotye, particularly in the one-appropriate-trait condition. They correctly identified the stereotype that enabled the parent to correctly choose the group referred to.

The lower accuracy scores of the child as listener, however, indicates that there are certain contextual cues that may impinge upon the communication task, influencing them to perform less accurately when they serve as listeners rather than as speakers.

Stereotypes are viewed as a form of "social reality" in that they reflect a community's perception of various ethnic groups (cf. Vinacke 1957). This reality is often determined by the amount of contact and the degree of familiarity with the groups. The communicational and informational value of such contact and familiarity resulted in the subjects being able to identify the Americans with greater accuracy than they identified the Russians. In the Philippines, subjects are far more familiar with Americans and have a more definite image of the traits associated with this group than they have of the traits of Russians. This differential familiarity, particularly for the younger children, influenced the identification of the two groups.

In general, parents were noted to be more accurate than the children in identifying the different ethnic groups, a finding that one expects since the stereotypes were defined in terms of the parents' consensual beliefs. What is notable is that the children do not perform as well when they serve as listeners in the paradigm. While stereotypes may be operating, children may not yet have learned the stereotypes as well as the parents. It is suggested, for example, that some stereotypes for different ethnic groups develop earlier than others (Lambert and Klineberg 1967; Pablo and Gardner 1987). Also children develop their idiosyncratic beliefs that are shared by peers and that do not conform to the parents' stereotypes. Hence they may not benefit from the information provided in the communication task to the same extent as the parents.

Stereotypes are asserted to develop early in children; they are responsive to group distinguishing features (Katz 1976). However, only one grade effect, indicative of an age effect, was noted. Subjects were able to identify the Americans more accurately the older they were. Again, the differential familiarity with this group may explain this finding. Subjects in the study are exposed to the media and are more in contact with

Americans at an early age, whereas the familiarity with Russians comes only much later.

In all three groups listeners' latencies improved with age. Subjects were able to perform the task in relatively shorter time as they grew older. This finding may be expected. As with other cognitive tasks, children simply become more adept and perform faster with increasing age. What is significant is that improvement in listener latency was not accompanied by increasing accuracy in the identification as indicated by the absence of grade effects in the latter. One will recall that a grade effect for correct identification was obtained only for the American-Russian groups. This observation is in line with information-processing theory, which suggests that one may be more confident with information tasks given more information but that such confidence may not necessarily result in more accuracy.

## 4. Conclusions

The socialization process between parent and child contributes to the development of common stereotypes about other ethnic groups. The present study demonstrates how such socialization may have consequences relative to the behavior of individuals in one specific way. It is shown that the identification of ethnic groups is facilitated by the consensual beliefs shared by these groups. The factors that were shown to influence the communicational significance of stereotypes are the amount of appropriate stereotypical information, the characteristics of the speaker (i.e., whether parent or child), and the nature of the target group in relation to the speaker and listener. To some extent the facility with which communication is enhanced is also shown to be due to the developmental factor of age.

## NOTE

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TABLE I. STEREOTYPES OF THE SIX ETHNIC GROUPS OBTAINED ON EACH SAMPLE

| | GRADE IV | | GRADE VI | | FOURTH YEAR | | PARENTS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TAGALOGS | Courteous | 55% | Superstitious | 44% | Courteous | 53% | Courteous | 42% |
| | Kind | 33% | Courteous | 40% | Easy-going | 33% | Religious | 36% |
| | Industrious | 33% | Clean | 36% | Superstitious | 33% | Clean | 35% |
| | Patriotic | 25% | Religious | 32% | Ambitious | 30% | Superstitious | 27% |
| | Clean | 20% | Revengeful | 20% | Religious | 30% | Sensitive | 22% |
| | Religious | 18% | Humorous | 20% | Light-skinned | 23% | Friendly | 18% |
| | Liberal | 18% | Worrisome | 20% | Kind | 20% | Generous | 15% |
| | Superstitious | 18% | Democratic | 20% | Shy | 18% | Talkative | 14% |
| | Ambitious | 15% | Extravagant | 20% | Friendly | 15% | Extravagant | 13% |
| | Generous | 15% | Patriotic | 20% | Industrious | 15% | Industrious | 13% |
| | | | | | Educated | 15% | | |
| ILOCANOS | Thrifty | 90% | Thrifty | 66% | Stingy | 68% | Thrifty | 76% |
| | Hardworking | 50% | Hardworking | 52% | Thrifty | 60% | Hardworking | 74% |
| | Industrious | 38% | Stingy | 48% | Hardworking | 53% | Stingy | 55% |
| | Stingy | 28% | Industrious | 45% | Industrious | 40% | Industrious | 49% |
| | Patient | 21% | Dark | 30% | Patient | 23% | Patient | 25% |
| | Courteous | 20% | Successful | 24% | Talkative | 21% | Adventurous | 24% |
| | Liberal | 18% | Patient | 21% | Noisy | 20% | Ambitious | 23% |
| | Brave | 15% | Religious | 16% | Dark | 15% | Selfish | 20% |
| | Selfish | 15% | Generous | 16% | Sensitive | 15% | Dark | 18% |
| | Dark | 13% | Courteous | 16% | Easy-going | 13% | Easy-going | 18% |
| CHINESE | Slit-eyed | 90% | Slit-eyed | 80% | Slit-eyed | 85% | Businesslike | 82% |
| | Businesslike | 42% | Businesslike | 52% | Businesslike | 60% | Slit-eyed | 80% |
| | Mean | 38% | Persistent | 45% | Selfish | 35% | Persistent | 39% |
| | Quarrelsome | 35% | Short | 24% | Dirty | 35% | Hardworking | 33% |
| | Rich | 32% | Hardworking | 24% | Short | 28% | Noisy | 28% |
| | Cruel | 20% | Patient | 24% | Hardworking | 28% | Adventurous | 21% |
| | Short | 20% | Noisy | 20% | Progressive | 28% | Dirty | 20% |
| | Progressive | 18% | Rich | 20% | Rich | 27% | Rich | 14% |
| | Talkative | 15% | Progressive | 20% | Light-skinned | 23% | Active | 13% |
| | Noisy | 15% | Kind | 16% | Persistent | 23% | Talkative | 10% |
| | | | | | | | Light-skinned | 10% |

(TABLE I, CONTD.)

| | GRADE IV | | GRADE VI | | FOURTH YEAR | | PARENTS | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| JAPANESE | Light-skinned | 100% | Businesslike | 52% | Cruel | 38% | Light-skinned | 54% |
| | Slit-eyed | 90% | Brave | 36% | Inventive | 35% | Inventive | 43% |
| | Warmongering | 55% | Cruel | 31% | Progressive | 35% | Slit-eyed | 31% |
| | Cruel | 41% | Quarrelsome | 31% | Slit-eyed | 35% | Businesslike | 24% |
| | Mean | 38% | Warmongering | 31% | Sports-minded | 20% | Progressive | 23% |
| | Quarrelsome | 35% | Inventive | 21% | Proud | 20% | Short | 23% |
| | Brave | 30% | Short | 21% | Successful | 18% | Warmongering | 15% |
| | Progressive | 28% | Alert | 20% | Warmongering | 15% | Industrious | 15% |
| | Short | 20% | Slit-eyed | 17% | Adventurous | 15% | Cruel | 13% |
| | Revengeful | 20% | Industrious | 16% | Industrious | 15% | Hardworking | 13% |
| | | | | | | | Clean | 12% |
| AMERICANS | Light-skinned | 100% | Light-skinned | 58% | Light-skinned | 68% | Light-skinned | 56% |
| | Educated | 42% | Rich | 38% | Progressive | 50% | Democratic | 51% |
| | Rich | 42% | Educated | 31% | Democratic | 43% | Inventive | 34% |
| | Democratic | 20% | Intelligent | 31% | Inventive | 30% | Rich | 34% |
| | Businesslike | 20% | Inventive | 31% | Scientific | 25% | Progressive | 33% |
| | Intelligent | 25% | Democratic | 30% | Practical | 25% | Successful | 25% |
| | Progressive | 23% | Strong | 24% | Educated | 20% | Scientific | 24% |
| | Sports-minded | 18% | Successful | 20% | Sports-minded | 20% | Sports-minded | 23% |
| | Liberal | 15% | Friendly | 20% | Rich | 20% | Friendly | 16% |
| | Reliable | 15% | Brave | 20% | Friendly | 20% | Intelligent | 13% |
| | | | | | | | Educated | 13% |
| RUSSIANS | Inventive | 38% | Inventive | 32% | Warmongering | 55% | Warmongering | 57% |
| | Educated | 23% | Warmongering | 30% | Inventive | 45% | Inventive | 27% |
| | Clean | 22% | Treacherous | 28% | Scientific | 45% | Disciplined | 22% |
| | Warmongering | 18% | Intelligent | 24% | Brave | 25% | Cruel | 20% |
| | Ambitious | 18% | Industrious | 24% | Intelligent | 25% | Progressive | 16% |
| | Successful | 20% | Cruel | 20% | Cruel | 23% | Intelligent | 16% |
| | Husky | 18% | Rich | 20% | Efficient | 23% | Brave | 15% |
| | Brave | 10% | Colonialist | 20% | Progressive | 23% | Alert | 14% |
| | Adventurous | 10% | Successful | 20% | Colonialist | 20% | Religious | 14% |
| | Practical | 10% | Artistic | 20% | Quarrelsome | 18% | Ambitious | 13% |

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF CORRECT IDENTIFICATION ON ILOCANO-TAGALOG LABEL

| SOURCE | df | MS | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker | 1 | 4.267 | 1.209 |
| Grade | 2 | 5.254 | 1.489 |
| Speaker X Grade | 2 | 1.704 | 0.489 |
| Subjects within Groups | 54 | 3.529 | |
| Amount of Information | 1 | 35.265 | 15.265** |
| Speaker X Amount of Information | 1 | 9.601 | 4.156* |
| Grade X Amount of Information | 2 | 1.779 | 0.770 |
| Amount of Information X Speaker X Grade | 2 | 5.414 | 2.344 |
| Amount of Information X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 2.310 | |
| Label | 1 | 40.015 | 7.409** |
| Speaker X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 16.019 | 2.966 |
| Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 1.504 | 0.278 |
| Speaker X Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 14.154 | 2.621 |
| Ethnic Group Label X Grade X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 5.401 | |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 12.153 | 15.036** |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 2.015 | 2.492 |
| Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 0.464 | 0.574 |
| Speaker X Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 1.129 | 1.397 |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label X Subjects within the Group | 54 | 0.808 | |
| TOTAL | 239 | | |

df = degrees of freedom
ms = mean square
F = F-value
*Obtained F-value significant at less than .05 probability level.
**Obtained F-value significant at less than .01 probability level.

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF CORRECT IDENTIFICATION OF CHINESE-JAPANESE LABEL

| SOURCE | df | MS | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker | 1 | 17.066 | 0.452 |
| Grade | 2 | 75.639 | 2.005 |
| Speaker X Grade | 2 | 41.803 | 1.108 |
| Subjects within Groups | 54 | 37.726 | |
| Amount of Information | 1 | 106.668 | 32.765** |
| Speaker X Amount of Information | 1 | 16.016 | 4.920* |
| Grade X Amount of Information | 2 | 4.053 | 1.245 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Grade | 2 | 4.306 | 1.323 |
| Amount of Information X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 3.255 | |
| Label | 1 | 15.00 | 0.398 |
| Speaker X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 16.352 | 2.105 |
| Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 84.412 | 2.239 |
| Speaker X Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 42.463 | 1.127 |
| Ethnic Group Label X Grade X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 37.693 | |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 7.348 | 3.231 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 1.668 | 0.733 |
| Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 2.814 | 1.238 |
| Speaker X Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 0.025 | 0.011 |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 2.274 | |
| TOTAL | 239 | | |

df = degrees of freedom
ms = mean square
F = F-value
*Obtained F-value significant at less than .05 probability level.
**Obtained F-value significant at less than .01 probability level.

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF CORRECT IDENTIFICATION OF AMERICAN-RUSSIAN LABEL

| SOURCE | df | MS | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker | 1 | 0.204 | 0.080 |
| Grade | 2 | 15.417 | 6.025** |
| Speaker X Grade | 2 | 1.267 | 0.495 |
| Subjects within Groups | 54 | 2.559 | 0.495 |
| Amount of Information | 1 | 139.535 | 71.301** |
| Speaker X Amount of Information | 1 | 11.706 | 5.982** |
| Grade X Amount of Information | 2 | 0.951 | 0.997 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Grade | 2 | 0.217 | 0.111 |
| Amount of Information X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 1.957 | |
| Label | 1 | 82.837 | 30.707** |
| Speaker X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 0.504 | 0.187 |
| Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 2.600 | 0.964 |
| Speaker X Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 3.019 | 1.119 |
| Ethnic Group Label X Grade X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 2.698 | |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 6.338 | 4.517* |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 1.208 | 0.861 |
| Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 0.651 | 0.464 |
| Speaker X Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 1.816 | 0.294 |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 1.403 | |
| TOTAL | 239 | | |

df = degrees of freedom
ms = mean square
F = F-value
*Obtained F-value significant at less than .05 probability level.
**Obtained F-value significant at less than .01 probability level.

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF CORRECT IDENTIFICATION OF CHINESE-JAPANESE LABEL

| SOURCE | df | MS | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker | 1 | 26.750 | 0.102 |
| Grade | 2 | 475.187 | 1.815 |
| Speaker X Grade | 2 | 20.500 | 0.078 |
| Subjects within Groups | 54 | 261.844 | |
| Amount of Information | 1 | 87.063 | 2.479 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information | 1 | 27.625 | 0.786 |
| Grade X Amount of Information | 2 | 17.281 | 0.492 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Grade | 2 | 16.982 | 0.483 |
| Amount of Information X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 35.125 | |
| Label | 1 | 103.437 | 1.416 |
| Speaker X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 80.125 | 1.096 |
| Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 61.594 | 0.843 |
| Speaker X Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 333.217 | 4.560* |
| Ethnic Group Label X Grade X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 73.074 | |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 25.375 | 0.658 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 17.563 | 0.455 |
| Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 24.656 | 0.658 |
| Speaker X Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 4.187 | 0.639 |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 38.583 | |
| TOTAL | 239 | | |

df = degrees of freedom
ms = mean square
F = F-value
*Obtained F-value significant at less than .05 probability level.

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF SPEAKER LATENCY ON AMERICAN-RUSSIAN LABEL

| SOURCE | df | MS | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker | 1 | | |
| 67.938 0.279 | | | |
| Grade | 2 | 531.406 | 2.181 |
| Speaker X Grade | 2 | 38.844 | 0.159 |
| Subjects within Groups | 54 | 243.661 | 0.159 |
| Amount of Information | 1 | 455.438 | 11.692** |
| Speaker X Amount of Information | 1 | 34.438 | 0.884 |
| Grade X Amount of Information | 2 | 5.406 | 0.139 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Grade | 2 | 6.516 | 0.168 |
| Amount of Information X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 38.954 | |
| Label | 1 | 72.875 | 2.356 |
| Speaker X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 18.312 | 0.592 |
| Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 90.813 | 2.936 |
| Speaker X Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 41.463 | 1.344 |
| Ethnic Group Label X Grade X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 30.927 | |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 10.062 | 0.352 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 9.625 | 0.337 |
| Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 121.750 | 4.261* |
| Speaker X Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 79.625 | 2.675 |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 28.573 | |
| TOTAL | 239 | | |

df = degrees of freedom
ms = mean square
F = F-value
*Obtained F-value significant at less than .05 probability level.
**Obtained F-value significant at less than .01 probability level.

TABLE 7

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF LISTENER LATENCY ON ILOCANO-TAGALOG LABEL

| SOURCE | df | MS | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker | 1 | 320.875 | 1.515 |
| Grade | 2 | 714.031 | 3.371* |
| Speaker X Grade | 2 | 280.312 | 1.324 |
| Subjects within Groups | 54 | 211.789 | |
| Amount of Information | 1 | 202.562 | 12.825** |
| Speaker X Amount of Information | 1 | 1.187 | 0.075 |
| Grade X Amount of Information | 2 | 4.656 | 0.295 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Grade | 2 | 29.750 | 1.884 |
| Amount of Information X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 15.794 | |
| Label | 1 | 36.438 | 1.331 |
| Speaker X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 216.562 | 7.909** |
| Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 51.031 | 1.864 |
| Speaker X Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 10.344 | 0.378 |
| Ethnic Group Label X Grade X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 27.334 | |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 1.500 | 0.067 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 0.063 | 0.003 |
| Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 50.188 | 0.242 |
| Speaker X Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 22.250 | 2.994 |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 22.384 | |
| TOTAL | 239 | | |

df = degrees of freedom
ms = mean square
F = F-value
*Obtained F-value significant at less than .05 probability level.
**Obtained F-value significant at less than .01 probability level.

TABLE 8

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF LISTENER LATENCY ON CHINESE-JAPANESE LABEL

| SOURCE | df | MS | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker | 1 | 464.813 | 2.232 |
| Grade | 2 | 656.344 | 3.152* |
| Speaker X Grade | 2 | 163.844 | 1.267 |
| Subjects within Groups | 54 | 208.242 | |
| Amount of Information | 1 | 99.438 | 2.692 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information | 1 | 15.250 | 0.413 |
| Grade X Amount of Information | 2 | 7 094 | 0.192 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Grade | 2 | 57.938 | 1.569 |
| Amount of Information X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 36.938 | |
| Label | 1 | 4.812 | 0.206 |
| Speaker X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 78.188 | 3.340 |
| Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 57.281 | 2.447 |
| Speaker X Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 10.000 | 0.427 |
| Ethnic Group Label X Grade X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 23.412 | |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 132.750 | 6.534* |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 1.062 | 0.052 |
| Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 16.937 | 0.834 |
| Speaker X Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 47.531 | 0.834 |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 20.318 | |
| TOTAL | 239 | | |

df = degrees of freedom
ms = mean square
F = F-value
*Obtained F-value significant at less than .05 probability level.
**Obtained F-value significant at less than .01 probability level.

TABLE 9

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF LISTENER LATENCY ON AMERICAN-RUSSIAN LABEL

| SOURCE | df | MS | F |
|---|---|---|---|
| Speaker | 1 | 89.500 | 0.702 |
| Grade | 2 | 594.250 | 4.662* |
| Speaker X Grade | 2 | 162.781 | 1.277 |
| Subjects within Groups | 54 | 127.468 | |
| Amount of Information | 1 | 28.813 | 2.111 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information | 1 | 13.062 | 0.925 |
| Grade X Amount of Information | 2 | 22.156 | 1.59 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Grade | 2 | 11.437 | 0.810 |
| Amount of Information X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 14.437 | |
| Label | 1 | 20.375 | 0.601 |
| Speaker X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 59.438 | 1.752 |
| Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 26.563 | 0.783 |
| Speaker X Grade X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 53.281 | 1.571 |
| Ethnic Group Label X Grade X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 33.922 | |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 28.313 | 1.768 |
| Speaker X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 1 | 4.250 | 0.265 |
| Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 14.281 | 0.892 |
| Speaker X Grade X Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label | 2 | 1.125 | 0.707 |
| Amount of Information X Ethnic Group Label X Subjects within Groups | 54 | 16.012 | |
| TOTAL | 239 | | |

df = degrees of freedom
ms = mean square
F = F-value
*Obtained F-value significant at less than .05 probability level.

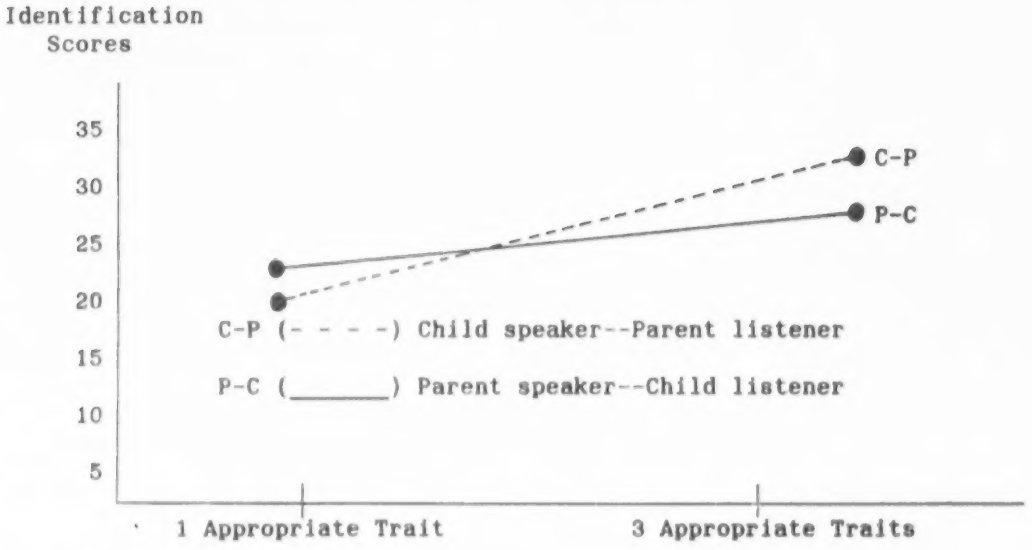



Figure 1. Effect of amount of stereotypical information and speaker on the identification of Ilocano-Tagalog label.

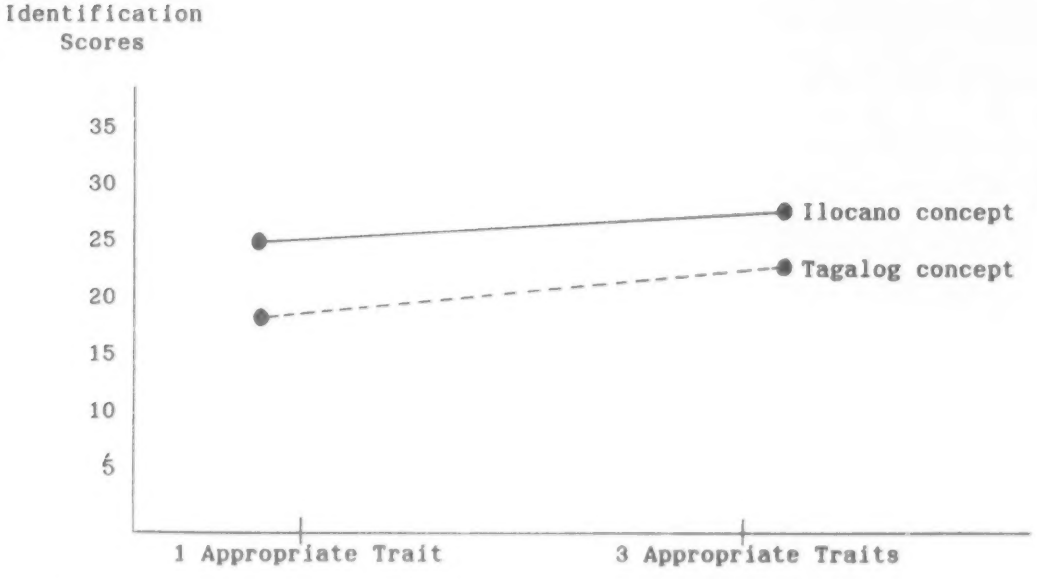



Figure 2. Effect of amount of stereotypical information and ethnic group label on the identification of Ilocano-Tagalog label.

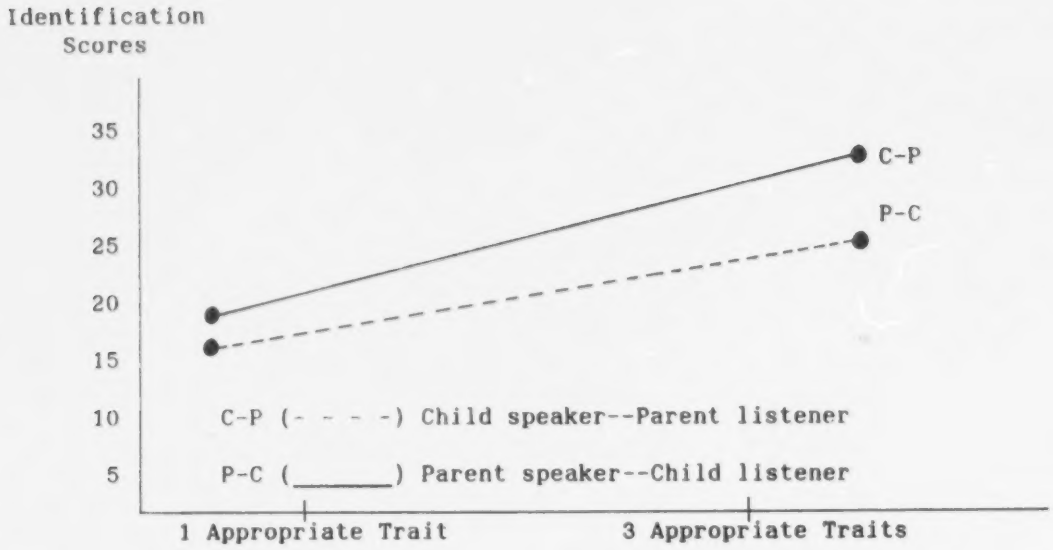



Figure 3. Effect of amount of stereotypical information and speaker on the identification of Chinese-Japanese label.

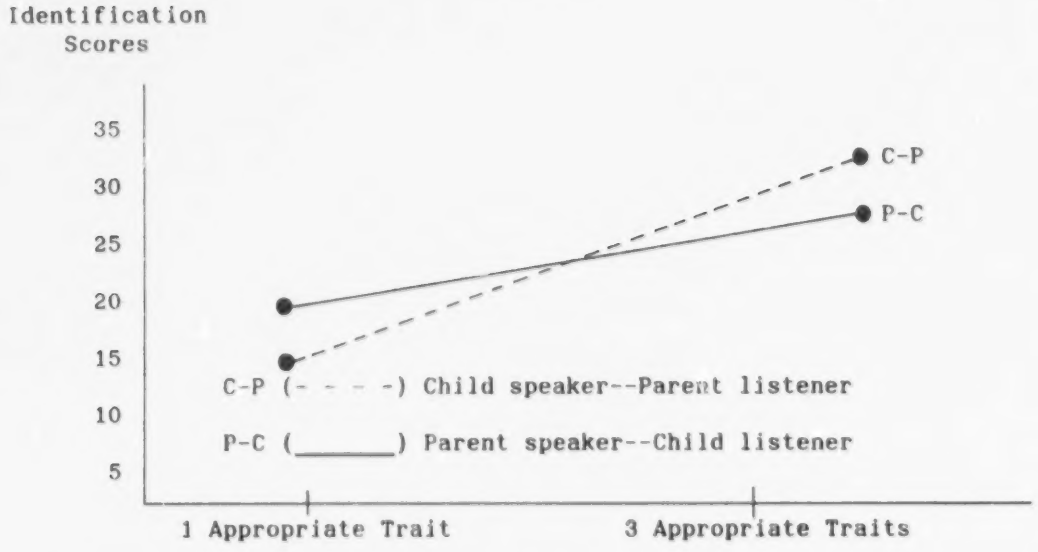



Figure 4. Effect of stereotypical information and speaker on the identification of American-Russian label.

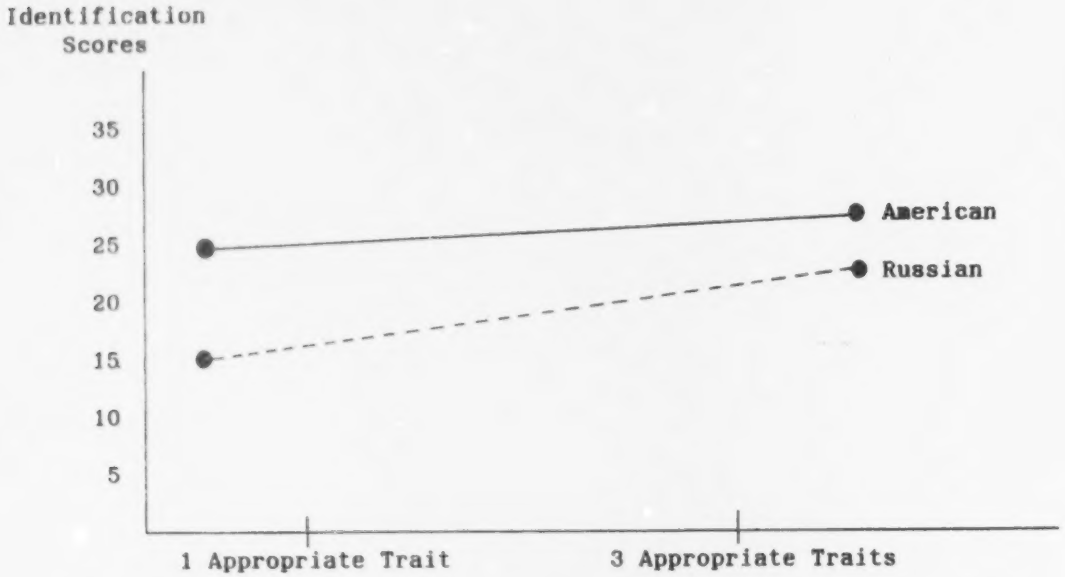



Figure 5. Effect of amount of stereotypical information and ethnic group label on the identification of American-Russian label.

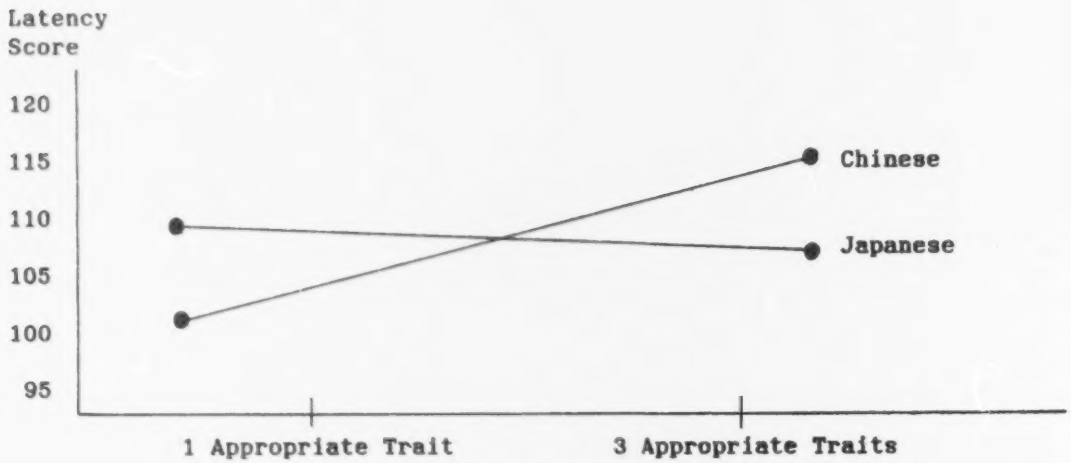
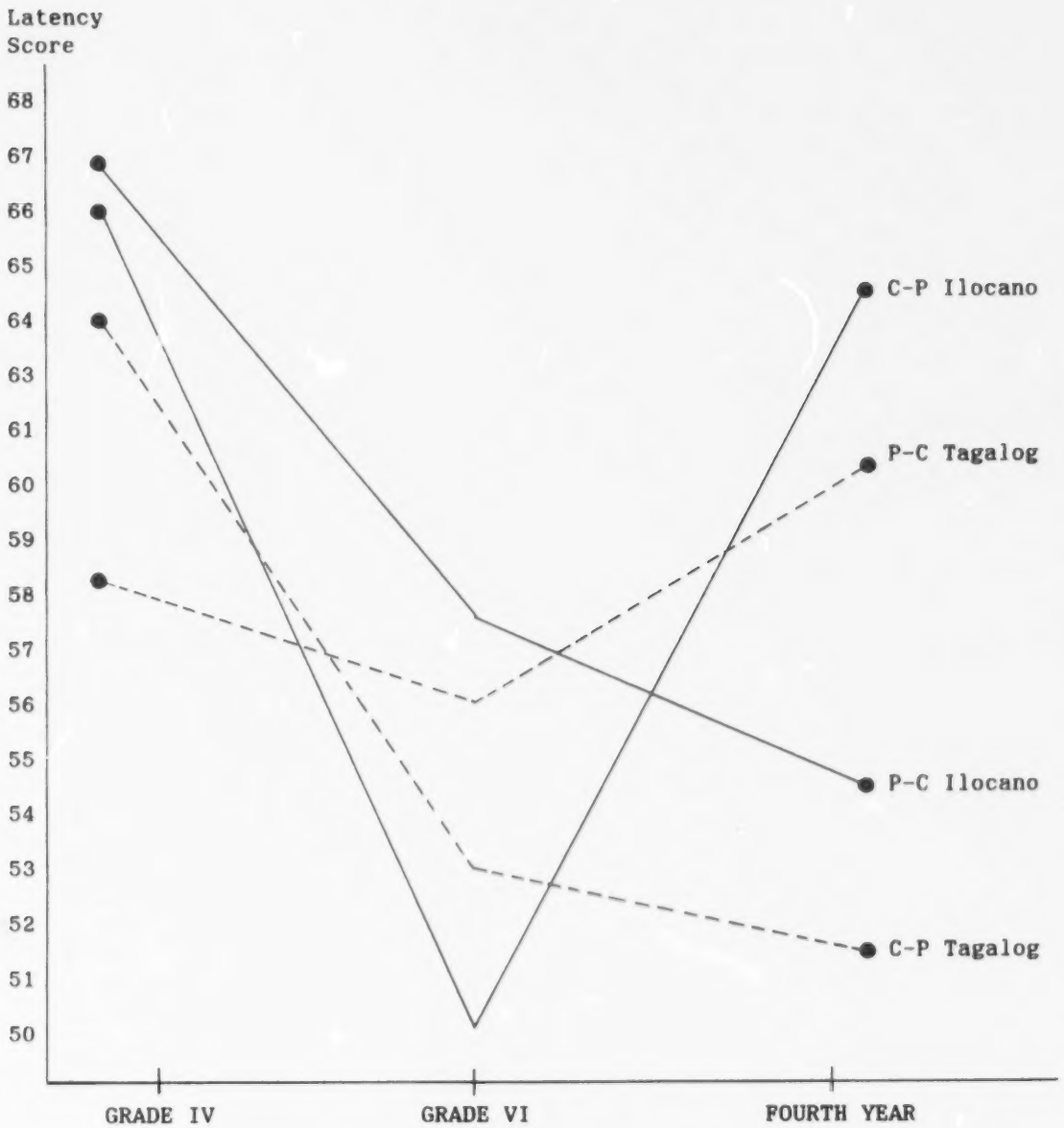
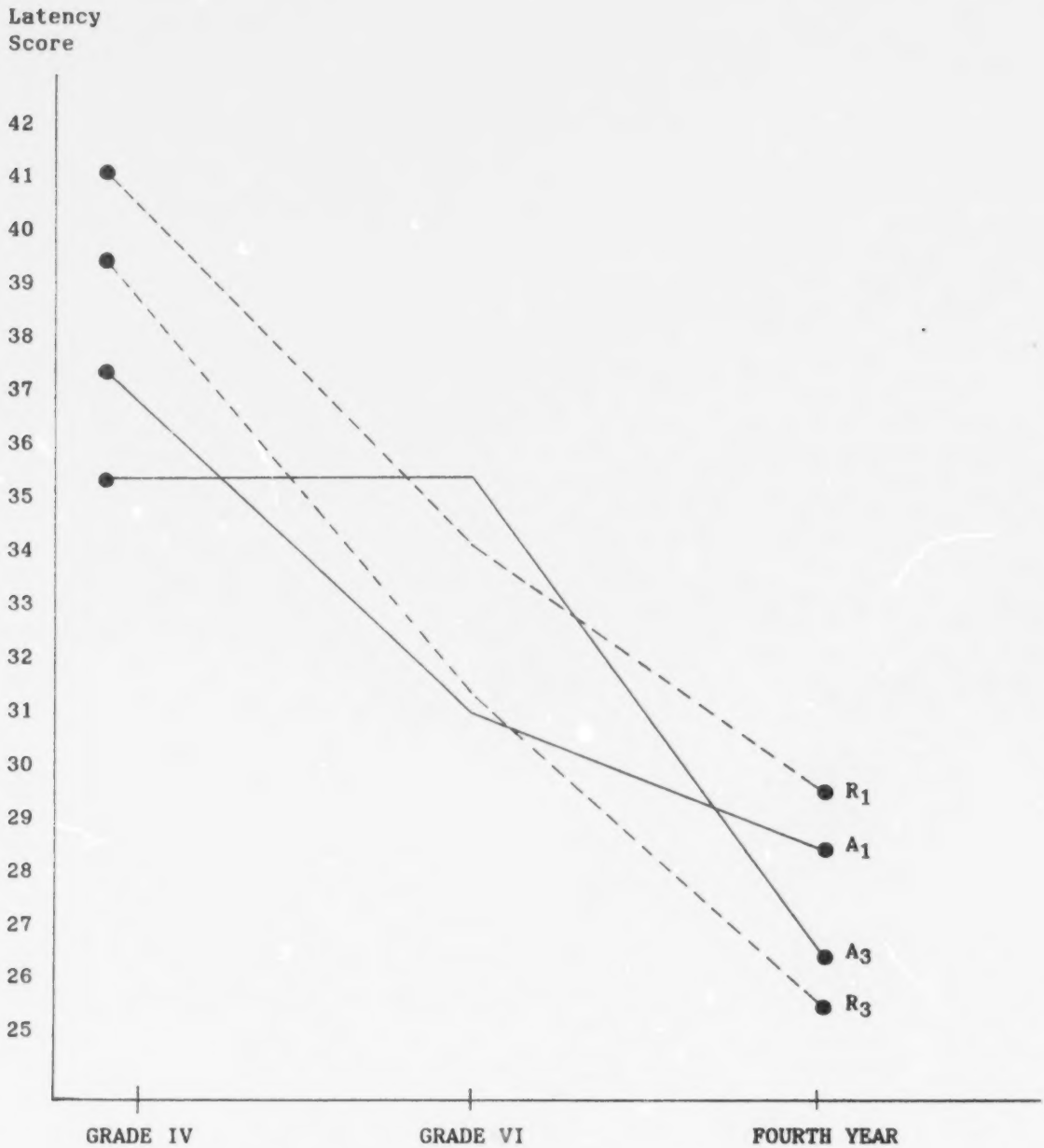



Figure 6. Effect of the amount of stereotypical information and ethnic group label on listener latency for Chinese-Japanese label.



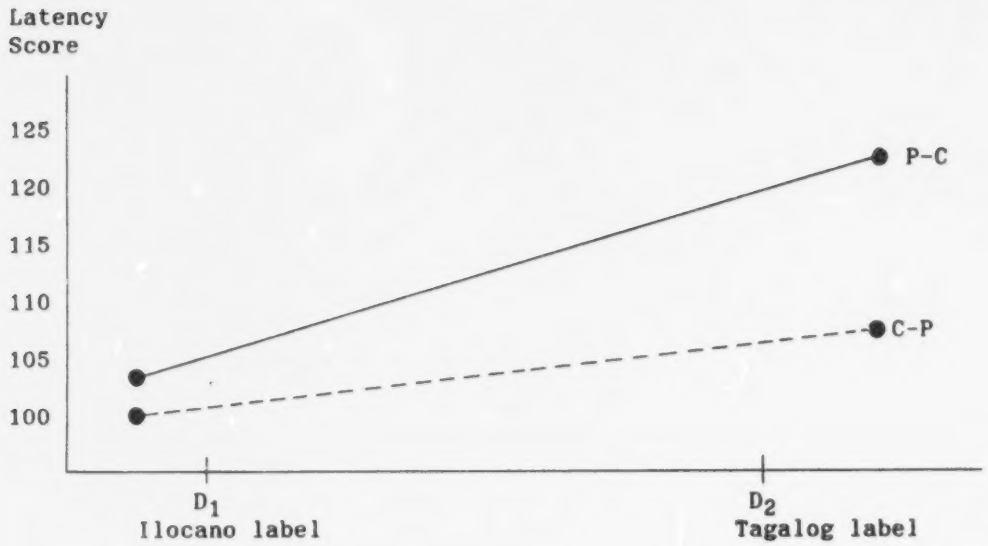

C-P Tagalog: Child Speaker--Parent Listener on Tagalog Concept
C-P Ilocano: Child Speaker--Parent Listener on Ilocano Concept
P-C Ilocano: Parent Speaker--Child Listener on Ilocano Concept
P-C Tagalog: Parent Speaker--Child Listener on Tagalog Concept

Figure 7. Interaction effect between grade, speaker, and ethnic group label on speaker latency for Ilocano-Tagalog label.




$R_1$ Russian label, one appropriate trait
$R_3$ Russian label, three appropriate traits
$A_1$ American label, one appropriate trait
$A_3$ American label, three appropriate traits

Figure 8. Interaction effect between grade, information, and ethnic group concept on speaker latency for American-Russian label.




P-C Parent Speaker--Child Listener
C-P Child Speaker--Parent listener

Figure 9. Interaction effect between speaker and ethnic-group label on listener latency for Tagalog-Ilocano label.

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